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GENERAL HISTORY.

Continuation of the Modern Hiſtory.

SEVENTH EPOCHA.

Great SCHISM of the WEST.—MISFORTUNES of FRANCE under CHARLES VI.—Repaired under CHARLES VII.

[From the Year 1378, to the Middle of the Fifteenth Century.]

CHAP. I.

Conſiderations on the Troubles of the Church.—The Popes return to Rome.

Origin of the troubles occaſioned by eccleſiaſtical affairs.

THE further we advance in hiſtory, the more we are ſurpriſed to ſee the world diſturbed by eccleſiaſtical affairs. Wherefore did ſuch quarrels, outrages, and frantic madneſs, prevail in the boſom of a religion of peace and charity, from the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the time of Conſtantine? We have already obſerved the cauſes, which were every moment revived with effects ſtill more contagious. The miniſters of the church, peaceful and gentle while they confined their attention to the care of ſouls, had acquired too much power

The clergy corrupted by power and riches.

power and authority to keep themſelves within the limits of their holy miniſtry. By their dominion over the minds of the people, they could inculcate their moſt unreaſonable opinions as divine truths; and, being favoured and revered in courts, could transfer theſe opinions into laws. Having by various means acquired riches and nobility, they were ſeized with thoſe paſſions which uſually accompany wealth and grandeur; and from that time, being expoſed to the hatred and enterpriſes of the great, they forgot the morality of the goſpel, and appeared ſometimes to make no uſe of religion, but to bring down the fire of heaven, or add fuel to that of hell. Being the only people who were capable of engaging in any kind of ſtudy, during the ages of barbarous ignorance, it was not difficult for them to extend their privileges, to take the management of affairs into their hands, to uſurp the juriſdiction of kingdoms, and to forge chains for the ſtupid vulgar, or weak and blind princes. Succeſs in one bold attempt naturally led them on to a ſecond ſtill bolder: times and cuſtoms changed uſurpation into right, errours into principles, and abuſes into duties; till at laſt worſhip, doctrine, and morality, were disfigured by groſs ſuperſtitions, which, though the monks and clergy turned them to their own advantage, could not fail in the end to prove deſtructive to themſelves. The ſovereign pontiffs in particular, by the exceſs of their ambitious enterprizes, undermined their own power.

Abuſes which they made of religion and its credit.

Every thing had degenerated.

It is an enormous injuſtice to impute to Chriſtianity the numberleſs evils for which it has afforded a pretence; the goſpel, tradition, and the diſcipline of the primitive ages, directly contradicted ſuch abuſes: the Chriſtian virtues and ſound doctrine, of which ſome traces always remained, bore teſtimony againſt the prevailing vices. Religion was abuſed, either from its not being ſufficiently known, or becauſe every thing is perverted to wrong purpoſes by the paſſions. The prieſthood compoſing a diſtinct body, with ſeparate intereſts, almoſt free from the

It ought to be aſcribed to men, and not to Chriſtianity.

the civil power, and in ſome degree exerciſing the legiſlative, having the ſole guidance of education, governing conſciences according to its pleaſure, in the name of God commanding men who did not reaſon, or rather whom it prevented from reaſoning; with all theſe advantages, what was to be expected, but that the prieſts and pontiffs, in a corrupted age, would keep the people in a kind of ſervitude?

Sacerdotal deſpotiſm is naturally unſtable: with feeble weapons it attacks the intereſts of all mankind, and powers armed with the temporal ſword. Its whole ſtrength is founded on opinion, and when that changes, it can be no longer maintained. It muſt be owned, that meaſures were taken to perpetuate ignorance, by depriving the laity of the holy ſcriptures, burning all who preſumed to think differently from the vulgar, and the tyranny of the inquiſition was exerciſed over both mind and body: but, however powerful theſe means might appear, they were not ſufficient. Unleſs they could have burnt every book, ſhut up all the ſchools, and annihilated reaſon, they could not but expect the moſt formidable oppoſition.

Sacerdotal deſpotiſm muſt fall with the opinion by which it is ſupported.

The court of Rome, by imprudent avarice and manifeſt tyranny, had provoked the hatred of the clergy in almoſt every kingdom; ſo that a number of learned men were ready to declare againſt her the firſt opportunity. The revival of learning had ſet the minds of men in motion, and inſpired them with that paſſion for diſputing, which contradiction never fails to inflame; ſo that a leaven of bold opinions was mixed with a number of prejudices, which would neceſſarily give birth to ſome important novelty. Unfortunately, fanataciſm has greater influence than reaſon, and it is rather irritated than extinguiſhed by puniſhments; it will therefore, in its tranſports, at the ſame time attack the true doctrines and abuſes; and, though the doctrines prevail, the abuſes will not be leſs weakened, becauſe they will ſhew how contrary pernicious exceſſes are to divine truths.

What foreboded a change of opinion.

Doctrine of Marſilius of Padua, and John of Ghent.

Marſilius of Padua, a civilian, and John of Ghent, a theologian, in their defence of the emperour Louis of Bavaria, had already given ſome dreadful blows to the pontifical authority. They not only maintained, that it could not exerciſe any compulſive power, intermeddle in civil affairs, make general rules of diſcipline, or eſtabliſh any articles of faith; but likewiſe ſtript the pope of the primacy over the biſhops, and declared him, in all caſes, under the controul of the emperour. John XXII. condemned this doctrine, without diſtinguiſhing the true from the falſe.

Wickliffe goes ſtill further.

John Wickliffe, a doctor of Oxford, propagated his new doctrines with more freedom in England. He was an enthuſiaſtic reformer, like Arnold of Breſcia, and preached up, that eccleſiaſtics ought not to accumulate riches; that the prince ought to employ their wealth for the good of the ſtate, and the relief of the people; he attacked the hierarchy, the ſacraments, indulgences, monaſtic vows, and the greateſt part of the religious ceremonies; nor did he ſpare the papacy, which had ſo long been formidable to the whole kingdom. Being protected from the proſecutions of the clergy by the duke of Lancaſter, one of the uncles of Richard II. his diſciples, who were commonly called Lollards, greatly increaſed, and occaſioned diſturbances. His doctrine, which was not condemned till after his death, had taken ſuch deep root, that the houſe of commons, though ſtartled at the name of hereſy, ſeveral times propoſed to alienate the wealth of the church, whoſe poſſeſſions were ſaid to amount to a third of the whole lands in the kingdom.

He ſucceeds in England.

The hereſies which proved fatal to the Romiſh church, all proceed from the ſame ſource.

In one word, Wickliffe followed the ſteps of the Albigenſes, and the proteſtants thoſe of Wickliffe. If we examine the ſource of thoſe hereſies, by which a great part of Europe was ſeparated from the church of Rome, we ſhall find them proceeding chiefly from the ſuperſtitions introduced into the boſom of Chriſtianity, and the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical authority, which encroached equally

equally upon civil liberty and the rights of ſovereignty. We come now to the great ſchiſm in the weſt, which increaſed the public diſorders, and of courſe haſtened that revolution, which nothing but a profound and ſteady prudence could have prevented.

French popes at Avignon.

Seven French popes, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. and Gregory XI. had reigned in Avignon, to which the holy ſee had been transferred in 1309, and was a ſubject of grief and ſcandal to the Romans. Though they deteſted the papal yoke, they wiſhed to have the pope among them, either becauſe his preſence would draw money into their city, or that religious motives were added to views of intereſt. Undoubtedly, the biſhop of Rome ought to reſide in Rome; but, ſince he could arbitrarily diſpenſe with the obſervation of laws, it is not ſurpriſing, that he could find a diſpenſation for himſelf. Beſides, as the bulls and anathemas of the pontiffs had not loſt all their influence, the kings of France endeavoured to keep them in their kingdom; which, though it was a ſtroke of policy hurtful to the clergy, was perhaps uſeful to the crown in thoſe days of fanaticiſm.

The cauſe of their remaining there in oppoſition to the Romans.

The Florentines excommunicated by Gregory XI.

Urban V. however, went to Rome in the year 1367, but was ſoon tired of his ſituation, and in 1370 returned to Avignon, where he died that ſame year. His ſucceſſor, Gregory XI. was determined, by ſome particular circumſtances, to remove to Italy. The Florentines had formed a league againſt the governours ſent into that country by the pope; but they were ſoon puniſhed for this procedure by excommunications, which were backed with an army, and greatly injured their commerce. They ſent propoſals of peace, and the perſon pitched upon for their envoy, was Catharine of Sienna, a nun, who pretended to be favoured with revelations.

They ſent St. Catharine of Sienna to him.

The ſolemn marriage of this ſaint with Jeſus Chriſt; the gold ring, enriched with precious ſtones, which was given

given to her by her divine ſpouſe, and which ſhe always wore on her finger, though no perſon ever ſaw it; with a number of ſimilar tales, related by the legendaries, may be called in queſtion. But it is certain ſhe decided like an oracle in public affairs; yet it appears that the Florentines did not continue to place the ſame confidence in her, which they did at firſt, as their deputies, who followed after, were forbidden to hold any conference with Catharine; however, it is believed that ſhe perſuaded the pope to fix his reſidence at Rome.

Gregory goes to Rome, where he dies of vexation.

Gregory, having received a promiſe from the Romans to give him the entire lordſhip of their town, and to take the oath of fidelity, went thither in the year 1377; but experience ſoon ſhewed him, that neither Romans nor Florentines were inclined to ſubmit. Being filled with vexation, he reſolved to quit Italy, where he died, repenting of his having followed the advice of ſome people, *who, on pretence of religion*, ſaid he, *propagated their own chimeras*. Saint Bridget of Sweden, a nun at Rome, had likewiſe laboured effectually to draw the pope from Avignon.

CHAP. II.

Beginning of the Schiſm.——Revolutions at Naples and in Hungary.—Troubles in France and England.

1378. Origin of the great ſchiſm.

ELEVEN days after the death of Gregory XI. came on the fatal election, which occaſioned a ſchiſm of forty years. The Romans in a tumultuous manner ſurrounded the conclave, to demand a pontiff of their own nation, threatening to offer violence to the cardinals, if they were not immediately gratified. The archbiſhop of Bari, a Neapolitan, afterwards famous under the name of Urban VI. was choſen, and his election proclaimed to be the work of the Holy Spirit. He was

Election of Urban VI. followed by that of Clement VII.

obeyed

obeyed three months, as lawful pope, and likewiſe acknowledged as ſuch by ſix cardinals, who remained at Avignon: but he ſoon rendered himſelf ſo odious by his haughty, harſh temper, and indiſcreet ſeverity, that the cardinals retired to Anagni, declared the election forced, and therefore null, and proceeded to a new one, at Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples; where they made choice of Robert, ſon of the count of Geneva, a relation, by blood or marriage, to ſome of the greateſt princes, who took the name of Clement VII. Three Italians, who were the only cardinals of that country, had been fraudulently ſeduced to the conclave, by a ſeparate promiſe made to each of them of being choſen pontiff; a diſagreeable circumſtance in ſuch an important buſineſs.

Europe divided between the two popes.

Nothing was more difficult to decide than which was the true pope; and in that ſtate of uncertainty, the beſt way probably would have been, to have acknowledged neither; eſpecially as it was neceſſary to come to that at laſt, in order to put an end to the ſchiſm. But men's minds were not yet ſufficiently informed, to admit of their relinquiſhing a pope, though his election had been doubtful. All Europe was divided, as the potentates happened to be led either by prejudice or intereſt. Charles V. of France did not decide till after a long examination, when he eſpouſed the part of Clement; while England, the Empire, &c. were for Urban. Such a diviſion might ſupply the place of other cauſes of animoſity.

Abuſe on both ſides. Saints oppoſed to ſaints.

While theſe two pontiffs thundered curſes and anathemas againſt each other, engaged in a moſt furious war, diſtracted the conſciences of men, and diſturbed the government of kingdoms, each of them reckoned a number of ſaints on their ſide, of whoſe revelations and miracles they boaſted, as proofs of the goodneſs of their cauſe. Catharine of Sienna wrote every where in favour of Urban; and, in her letter to the king of France, called the cardinals, who were favourers of Clement,

devils

devils incarnate. Such a powerful authority required a counterpoiſe, and ſome equally ſtrong were oppoſed to it; but the great miracle would have been, to act with temper.

Clement VII. at Avignon.

The pontifical armies fought in Italy with various ſucceſs. Clement, who had taken Rome, was driven out by the Romans, and ſettled at Avignon, to ruin France. Urban made uſe of victory like a tyrant; and Joanna the firſt, the famous queen of Naples, whoſe unfortunate beginnings we have already mentioned, having eſpouſed the cauſe of his opponent, very ſoon felt the effects of his vengeance. He declared her a heretic, guilty of high treaſon, depoſed her, and gave her kingdom to her couſin Charles Durazzo. After that prince had promiſed to yield Capua to Francis Prignano, the pope's nephew, Urban VI. ſold the domain of the church, and even the conſecrated plate, to facilitate the conqueſt. The haughty pontiff preferred the fortune of his nephew to all other conſiderations.

Joanna I. perſecuted by Urban VI.

She adopts the duke of Anjou.

Joanna had no children, though four times married; and, being deſirous to find an heir capable of defending her, adopted Louis duke of Anjou, the brother of Charles V. but the death of the king of France, in 1380, the ſame year of the adoption, delayed the expected aſſiſtance. Durazzo having the way paved for him by Urban, who had crowned him at Rome, and ſown ſedition at Naples, arrived there with an army. Otho of Brunſwick, the queen's huſband, was defeated and made priſoner, and the queen obliged to ſurrender. The conqueror conſulted Louis king of Hungary on the fate of that wretched princeſs; who replied, that ſhe deſerved the ſame death with Andrew of Hungary, her firſt huſband; and, in 1382, Joanna was either ſmothered or ſtrangled.

Durazzo takes Naples, and puts her to death.

Unfortunate expedition of the duke of Anjou.

The duke of Anjou having in the mean time got poſſeſſion of the treaſures of Charles the Wiſe, and being maſter of the kingdom for ſome months, in quality of regent, oppreſſed the people, by raiſing ſupplies for

for his expedition into Italy. Having received the inveſtiture of Naples from the pope of Avignon, he did not doubt of ſecuring the throne by his great preparations; but he only found his grave in La Puglia, where almoſt his whole army periſhed from want, diſeaſes, and the ſword of the enemy. The titles of this ſecond houſe of Anjou, which were conſtantly kept up from motives of ambition, and always failed from miſconduct, continued fatal to France.

Madneſs of Urban. He is deceived by Durazzo.

When the new king of Naples found himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed, he carefully avoided making good his promiſe made to Prignano, though both urged and threatened by Urban, who was equally inſolent and imprudent, and came in perſon to negotiate, or rather to command. Charles, after having held the bridle of his horſe, according to cuſtom, cauſed the pontiff to be made priſoner. An apparent reconciliation was very ſoon followed by a freſh rupture; when Urban, who was beſieged in Nocera, appeared at his window three times every day, and by the ſound of the bell, with a torch in his hand, regularly excommunicated the king and his army. He gave vent to his rage upon five or ſix cardinals, whom he ſuſpected of treaſon, becauſe they adviſed him to make peace; condemned them to the moſt cruel torments; and, while the dean of the college was put to the torture, aſſiſted in perſon, reading the holy office. After ſo many acts of violence, he fled to Genoa, dragging them along half dead in his train, and at laſt freed himſelf from all apprehenſions by their murder. It was in this manner the title of pope was ſupported by a ferocious tyrant, at the ſame time that the other pope ſet no bounds to his rapacity.

The crown of Hungary offered to Durazzo.

Charles Durazzo did not long enjoy a crown ſtained with blood. Louis of Hungary died without iſſue male, and the Hungarians acknowledged his daughter heireſs, by the name of *King Mary*. That people, who were ſtill uncivilized, would not have ſubmitted to a woman, but for the reſpect they paid to the memory of

of Louis. The female king was not of age, and her mother governed, or rather gave up the cares of government to a nobleman. The nobility began with murmuring, and very ſoon proceeded to rebellion; when they made an offer of the crown to the king of Naples, who was deſcended from the reigning family.

He accepts, and is aſſaſſinated.

That prince, intoxicated with ſucceſs, having accepted the offer, notwithſtanding the prudent remonſtrances of his wife, under an exteriour of friendſhip, preſented himſelf at Buda, and ſo far ſucceeded, as to get himſelf crowned; but was aſſaſſinated a few months after, in the year 1386. The Hungarians repenting of their rebellion, proclaimed Mary anew, together with her huſband Sigiſmond, ſon of Charles IV. who afterwards ſucceeded to the empire. Young Ladiſlas, ſon of Charles, ſucceeded to the kingdom of Naples, with the conſent of Urban, to whom a promiſe was made of whatever lands he pleaſed for his relations; while, on the other hand, pope Clement gave the inveſtiture of that ſtate to Louis II. ſon of the duke of Anjou; which opened a new ſource for war and misfortunes.

Troubles in England under Richard II.

England and France were then in a deplorable ſituation, where nothing was to be ſeen but diſcord and confuſion. The uncles of Richard II. who directed the affairs of government, were leſs attentive to the good of the public, than the ſecurity of their own intereſts. In the year 1381, the people in the country, being enraged at the impoſition of a new tax, entered into a rebellion, to which they were chiefly excited by a Franciſcan, a fanatical preacher, whoſe maxims of equality and perfect freedom heightened the ſenſe of their misfortunes. He inceſſantly repeated,

The people excited to a rebellion by a fanatical friar.

When Adam delved, and Eve ſpan,
Who was then a gentleman?

Theſe rebels committed horrid exceſſes even in London; but like the *Jaques* in France, being deſtitute both of a leader and diſcipline, they were ſoon obliged to ſubmit. The

The weakneſs of the king, his blind complaiſance for his favourites, and his anxiety to ſhake off the yoke under which he was kept by his uncles, expoſed him to the moſt dangerous broils; he was ſtripped of all authority, and his miniſters condemned and executed; but, having at length attained the age of twenty two, he declared himſelf major, and for ſome time appeared to be the ſovereign, while the pit was digging into which he was one day to fall.

The king loſes all authority.

It is not to be doubted that France would have taken advantage of theſe diſturbances, if Charles V. had been ſtill alive; but after the death of that great king, all was cabal and diſtraction; his brothers, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, uncles of the young king Charles VI. by their inſatiable rapacity oppreſſed the people, and from the faults of government, the nation was daily more and more infected with a ſpirit of rebellion. The king carried the war into Flanders, where the people had rebelled againſt their prince, who was father in law of the duke of Burgundy; and having defeated the Flemings at Roſbec, in 1382, returned to chaſtiſe the Pariſians, or rather gave them up to the tyranny of his uncles, who guided him as they pleaſed. During the deſtructive expedition of the duke of Anjou, into Italy, ſome ruinous preparations were making to attack England, and all theſe expenſes were thrown away; in one word, the kingdom ſeemed to be governed by blindneſs, diſtraction, and paſſion.

The ſame diſorder in France, under Charles VI.

That monſter of wickedneſs, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, formed a deſign to poiſon the whole royal family; but his project was diſcovered, and he periſhed by an accident, which might be looked upon as a ſtriking inſtance of divine wrath. The parliament began his trial after his death, but ſuch a ridiculous proceeding could produce no conſequences.

Wicked plot and tragical end of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre.

At laſt, Charles VI. reſolving to govern, took the reins into his own hands, in the year 1388, and, if he had been prudent, the affairs of the kingdom might have

The king at laſt wanted to govern.

have been recovered; but being of a paſſionate, inconſiderate, volatile temper, though benevolent, generous, and valiant, he could only increaſe the miſchief in ſuch a critical conjuncture, when principles and all ſenſe of duty were forgotten.

Cruſade of Urban VI.

The ſchiſm was not the lighteſt ſcourge with which the different nations were afflicted. Urban VI. publiſhed a cruſade againſt Clement and the *Clementines*. An Engliſh biſhop, who was general of this cruſade, attacked Flanders, though the Flemings were *Urbaniſts*; but was driven from thence by Charles VI. who protected the earl, as being his vaſſal. Clement, on the other hand, to ſupport his court, which conſiſted of thirty ſix cardinals, pillaged the church of France. A monk, whom he entruſted with his power, demanded one half of the revenue of all the benefices, and was ordered to deprive whoever made any oppoſition. The outcries of the clergy, but more particularly of the univerſity, obliged the crown to publiſh an edict againſt ſuch enormous extortions; but the king ſent the firſt preſident to the pope, and went in perſon to viſit him at Avignon, either with a deſign to pacify his reſentment, or calm his ſorrow.

Extortions of Clement VII.

The ſchiſm continued after the death of Urban.

It was a vain expectation, that the death of Urban, which happened in 1389, would put an end to the war about the pontificate; for the Italian cardinals choſe Boniface IX. to ſucceed him, and all the diſgraceful outrages were renewed. However, it ſerved to divert Charles VI. from a prepoſterous ſcheme of a cruſade againſt the Turks, as he was made to believe, that it was better to employ his arms againſt the ſchiſmatics, and he reſolved to make Italy ſubmit to the French pope; but thisdeſign, which was not more reaſonable than the former, was abandoned for another act of imprudence, which brought on moſt dreadful conſequences. Peter de Craon having aſſaſſinated Cliſſon the conſtable, fled for an aſylum to the duke of Bretagne; and, though Cliſſon recovered of his wounds, the king

Impru-dence of Charles VI.

was

was no leſs deſirous of revenge. He therefore marched with an army againſt the duke, when the exceſſive heat, and a fright occaſioned by ſome accidents, made him loſe his ſenſes; which misfortune was the more dreadful, as the diſorder continued thirty years, with only ſome lucid intervals, ſufficient to make him feel all the horrours of his ſituation. 1392. He loſt his ſenſes.

The king of England, expoſed to rebellions at home, was incapable of taking advantage of the ſituation of affairs in France, and, wiſhing to enter into an alliance with Charles VI. demanded and obtained his daughter Iſabella in marriage. He concluded a truce of twenty eight years, and for a ſum of money reſtored Breſt and Cherbourg, which had been given up to the Engliſh during the preceding reign. The two kings had an interview, at which they agreed to endeavour to put an end to the ſchiſm, which was the general wiſh of the whole Chriſtian world; but an obſtruction was found in the ambition of the pontiffs, which neither reaſon nor religion could overcome. He gives his daughter to Richard II.

Clement, while he pretended to wiſh for peace, was not the leaſt obſtinate in maintaining his dignity, and inceſſantly extorted the revenue of the churches. The univerſity of Paris, which was ſtill increaſing in power, ſuffering from his rapacity, and likewiſe feeling for the public calamities, propoſed three methods for concluding the diſpute: Either that both rivals ſhould reſign; or come to a compromiſe, according to the deciſion of ſome choſen arbitrators; or, as the laſt reſource, ſubmit to the ſentence of the general council. The king, or rather the duke de Berri, having paid no attention to theſe remonſtrances, the ſchools were ſhut up. The univerſity thought this ſeditiuos proceeding lawful, when they were diſſatisfied; and, from the power of prejudice, it almoſt conſtantly ſucceeded. The memorial which they ſent to Clement VII. accompanied by a ſpirited letter, occaſioned the moſt mortal vexation to the pontiff, who died ſoon after. The univerſity of Paris endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm.

Each

1394. Convention of cardinals after the death of Clement. Benedict XIII. choſen, & breaks it.

Each of the cardinals of Avignon took an oath, when in the conclave, to renounce the pontificate after the election, if the majority thought that neceſſary for the extinction of the ſchiſm. Peter Luna, a native of Arragon, was choſen, and took the name of Benedict XIII. Having been legate at Paris and in Spain, he artfully concealed his ambition under a maſk of zeal, which he let drop as ſoon as he had aſſumed the tiara. The public, dazzled by appearances, at firſt believed him to be ſincerely inclined to peace, and, in that perſuaſion, he was readily acknowledged; but three princes of the blood of France, accompanied by ſeveral prelates and learned men, made a fruitleſs viſit to his court, to exhort him to reſign, as the only ſtep proper to be taken; and it was in vain that all the cardinals concurred in the ſame opinion. He declared by a bull that abdication was a new method, and, by following it, he was afraid of offending heaven. Neither he nor Boniface, notwithſtanding all the entreaties which were made by crowned heads, could be prevailed upon to humble their pride at the expenſe of their dignity; yet, to hear them, they only liſtened to the voice of religion and duty.

1397. France no longer acknowledged the pope.

If the ſovereigns had poſſeſſed either underſtanding or courage, nothing was eaſier than to have cut this Gordian knot. France ſet the example, in a national council, which determined on a neutrality; in conſequence of which, the preſentation to benefices was reſtored to the ordinaries, and a prohibition iſſued againſt ſending money to Benedict, or paying him any obedience, accompanied with an order for all the king's ſubjects to leave his court; ſo that the Gallican church was governed, as formerly, by its own biſhops. But this reaſonable ſyſtem did not laſt long; for it was condemned by a part of the nobles and clergy, perhaps becauſe the reſt had approved of it. The univerſity of Toulouſe, in particular, treated as ſcandalous what the univerſity of Paris thought the greateſt good. Beſides, ſo blind was ſuperſtition, that notwithſtanding the king's

Oppoſition to this neutrality.

expreſs

expreſs prohibition, the French flocked in crowds to Rome, at the beginning of the century, to take the benefit of the jubilee of Boniface IX. though he had never been acknowledged by the nation. Benedict was beſieged in his palace of Avignon by the mareſchal de Boucicault, and was ſome time a priſoner. He again deceived both princes and people. The Caſtilians and French again acknowledged him; and this triumph rendered him more untractable.

That the paſſions ſhould be diſplayed with ſo much force in church affairs, is not at all ſurpriſing, when even religious ideas alone, if miſapplied, can ſtrongly agitate the human heart; but here was a contention for power and the higheſt dignity. What ferment was not to be expected from a mixture of ſpirituals with temporals, with an addition of every inflammable matter, which could put the minds, ſouls and ſenſes of men in agitation!

We muſt not be ſurpriſed that paſſion intermingled in this affair.

CHAP. III.

The Emperour Wenceſlas depoſed.—Richard II. *King of England, depoſed.—The Factions of Orleans and Burgundy in France.—Council of Piſa.—Sigiſmond, Emperour.*

AMIDST the horrours occaſioned by the ſchiſm, new revolutions happened in different ſtates. The emperour Wenceſlas, following the example of his father, Charles IV. alienated what remained of the imperial domain in Italy, from whence it was ſcarce longer poſſible to derive any advantage. He created Galeazzo Viſconti duke of Milan, count of Pavia, Parma and Placentia, reſerving nothing to himſelf but the precarious rights of liege lord. Some of the electors, provoked at this alienation, entered into a league againſt him; but,

The emperour Wenceſlas alienates all that remained of the imperial domain in Italy.

but, too little affected by their intrigues, he went to Reims in the year 1398, to concert meaſures with the king of France for putting an end to the ſchiſm. He took upon himſelf, as *avowée* of the Roman church, to preſs the abdication of the two popes; but that of Rome, Boniface IX. prevented the blow, by exciting the three eccleſiaſtical electors to join in open rebellion againſt him. The count Palatine joined them, and the conſpirators were animated and directed by the nuncios of Boniface, till at laſt Wenceſlas was ſolemnly depoſed in 1400, *for having diſſipated the imperial domain*; *for neglecting the cares of government*; *leading a life unworthy of the imperial dignity*; *and, in particular*, PERMITTING DOGS TO SLEEP IN HIS CHAMBER.

He wants to make the two popes abdicate.

He is depoſed for trivial reaſons.

Is it probable that his accuſers would have ſtopped at ſuch imputations, if he had been the monſter he has been repreſented by the monks? His ſubjects, the Bohemians, provoked at his having prevented them from plundering and maſſacring the Jews, kept him four months in priſon. By adhering to the council of Piſa, which was held againſt the two popes, as I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention, and granting protection to the famous John Hus, he undoubtedly made himſelf infamous in the eyes of the oppoſite party.

The reaſon of his being repreſented in an odious light by the monks

Robert count Palatine, having been raiſed to the imperial dignity by the cabal, undertook, with the help of the people of Lucca and Florence, to bring down the power of the family of Viſconti; but he made his appearance in Italy only to loſe a battle near lake Garda. However, he kept poſſeſſion of the crown, which ſtill ſeemed to belong to Wenceſlas, who renounced it after the death of the uſurper.

Robert the uſurper defeated by the family of Viſconti.

A revolution ſtill more bloody happened in England. The duke of Glouceſter, uncle of Richard II. a man of an artful, turbulent diſpoſition, had already ſtirred up the minds of the people againſt his weak nephew, on account of the treaty concluded with France; and certainly would have dethroned him, if the rebel had not

Rebellions againſt Richard II.

not been ſeized, and privately put to death, before preparation could be made for his trial. The young duke of Lancaſter, the king's couſin, ſucceeded better in a ſimilar attempt. Richard had unjuſtly ſeized his patrimony; and the duke, ſecure of the popular favour, from his reputation of courage and piety, ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion againſt the king, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon.

Henry duke of Lancaſter.

Richard was accuſed before the parliament, when ſome acts of arbitrary power, more frequent in the reign of Edward III. and eaſily vindicated by the conſtant outrages of the nobility, afforded a pretence for the ſentence by which he was depoſed. He died a violent death ſome time after, and was ſucceeded by his oppreſſor, Henry IV. to the prejudice of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, the lawful heir of the crown, by right of primogeniture. Henry ſuppreſſed ſeveral rebellions by the power of his arms. From policy, he ſacrificed the Lollards to the clergy, though they had been protected by his father; and it would ſeem, that he himſelf did not diſapprove their doctrine. The parliament declared, that they deſerved to be burnt as heretics; yet the grounds of their hereſy were one day to ſerve as the foundation of the religion of the Engliſh church. Thus do nations change their ideas.

1399. He cauſes the king to be depoſed, and ſucceeds him unjuſtly.

Lollards perſecuted.

In France, where the manners of the people were leſs barbarous, the public calamities were not leſs dreadful. The madneſs of Charles VI. ſeemed to have turned the heads of the whole nation. Magic was employed to effect a cure, and was entruſted to a couple of monks, who were impoſtors, and rather added to the diſorder. They accuſed the duke of Orleans of having contributed to it by malice, and were hanged after they had confeſſed their guilt. The factions of the different princes, who contended for the management of public affairs, tore the monarchy in pieces. Queen Iſabella of Bavaria, a faithleſs wife and unnatural mother, trampled upon every duty, and ſacrificed all to her paſſions. After the

Nothing but diſorder in France.

Iſabella of Bavaria.

Dukes of Orleans & Burgundy

death of Philip duke of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, brother of the king, and the queen's gallant, ſeized the government, that he might oppreſs the people with odious extortions. John, ſurnamed the *Fearleſs*, the new duke of Burgundy, who from his character was more dangerous, openly oppoſed him, and by an apparent zeal inflamed the rage of the people. Beſides the eſtates which John inherited from his father, he poſſeſſed Hainault, Holland, Zealand, &c. in right of his wife, ſo that few monarchs equalled him in power and riches.

1407. The duke of Orleans aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy

His apology made by a doctor of the univerſity

That revengeful prince ſacrificed every thing, even his honour, to implacable hatred. After pretending to be reconciled to the duke of Orleans, having taken the ſacrament, and in token of friendſhip ſlept in the ſame bed with him, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated in one of the ſtreets of Paris. He then withdrew, but very ſoon returned, as if in triumph, and procured permiſſion to juſtify himſelf in public. John Petit, a doctor of the univerſity, pronounced an abſurd diſcourſe in preſence of the dauphin, in which he eſtabliſhed the doctrine of tyrannicide by twelve arguments, in honour of the twelve apoſtles, and concluded with ſaying, that the duke of Burgundy deſerved praiſe and rewards, like St. Michael, *who killed the devil*, or Phineas, who killed Zimri. We may obſerve, by the bye, that the fanatics always conſecrated murder by examples taken from the Bible: ſo apt are men to run wild, when reaſon and humanity are excluded from their religious ideas; that is, when they are ignorant of the ſpirit of the true religion.

Murdering factions.

Though nobody ventured to combat this criminal apology, and though the duke of Burgundy had received his pardon, yet he could not but expect dreadful repriſals. The young duke of Orleans burnt with impatience to revenge the death of his father; and the count d'Armagnac, afterwards conſtable, who had married his daughter, aſſiſted him with all his power: ſo that the Burgundians and Armagnacs ſignalized themſelves by their

their horrid exceſſes, and Paris ſwam in blood. In ſhort, every thing conſpired the deſtruction of the monarchy.

The church continued to be diſtracted by the ſchiſm, and endleſs miſchiefs were the conſequence of theſe violent agitations; becauſe neither the people nor their governours were guided by any rational principles. Among other ſchemes for procuring money, Boniface conceived that of ſelling the reverſion of benefices to whoever would purchaſe them. He died in the year 1404, and Innocent VII. his ſucceſſor, like the reſt, refuſed to abdicate, which was ſtill fruitleſſly propoſed. Gregory XII. (Corario, a noble Venetian) who ſucceeded Innocent VII. in 1406, was no leſs obſtinate, though fourſcore years of age. Theſe pontiffs, and their rival, the haughty Benedict XIII. deceived all Europe by promiſes of an union, which terminated only in denouncing freſh anathemas.

The ſchiſm continued from the ambition of the pontiffs Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and Gregory XII.

At laſt, France having reſumed her ſcheme of neutrality, Benedict fled from Avignon, and the cardinals of the two popes, irritated by the conduct of both, united, and convoked a general council at Piſa, to which the competitors were ſummoned. As they took care not to appear, they were declared guilty of contumacy, and depoſed; and Alexander V. a man of the moſt obſcure birth, who had begged his bread in his youth, was choſen. He, and all the cardinals, entered into an engagement, that the council ſhould not riſe till the church ſhould be reformed both in its head and members: yet he diſſolved it, declaring, that the reformation could not take place at preſent, but ſhould be referred to the firſt general council, which was appointed to be held in 1412. What probability of accompliſhing a reformation incompatible with the intereſts of the head, and the principal members of the church? All the effects produced by the meeting of the general council at Piſa, which an angry writer called *a conventicle of devils*, was the creating a third pope.

1409. Council of Piſa.

Alexander V. a third pope, behaves like the reſt.

His actions.

Alexander was of the order of Brother Minors, and by a bull confirmed their pernicious privileges, even giving up all who dared to oppoſe them to the ſecular power. By another bull, he declared Ladiſlas, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Gregory XII. depoſed from the kingdom of Sicily. He ſent a legate to extort tenths from France; but there they had the prudence to prohibit the payment, though the new pope was acknowledged.

Death of the emperour Robert.

Gregory found a zealous defender in Robert, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the empire. The Germans, who were diſſatisfied with that pope, kept at a diſtance from his protector, and entered into a formidable conſpiracy againſt him; but his death, which happened in the year 1410, prevented their deſigns. Wenceſlas, reduced to his kingdom of Bohemia, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to recover the imperial throne, renounced it, upon condition of its being given to a prince of his family. Two elections, the one in favour of his couſin the margrave of Moravia, and the other of Sigiſmond king of Hungary,

Succeeded by Sigiſmond.

threatened a civil war; but the firſt dying his brother, ſoon after his election, the votes were united in favour of Sigiſmond, a zealous, indefatigable prince, who alone could reſtore the peace of the church, which was the principal object of his attention.

John XXIII. pope. He had been a corſair.

The famous Barthazar Coſſa, a native of Naples, was choſen to ſucceed Alexander, by the name of John XXIII. He had been a corſair in his youth, a profeſſion more ſuited to his temper and manners, than the functions of an eccleſiaſtic. Being legate at Bologna, under Boniface IX. he made himſelf maſter of that rebellious city by force of arms, and ruled like a tyrant. Under Alexander V. he drove the troops of Ladiſlas, king of Naples, out of Rome, and reduced that city under the authority of the pontiff. Being raiſed to the papal throne, in 1410,

Vain attempt of Louis of Anjou upon Sicily.

he united with Louis of Anjou to dethrone Ladiſlas; but that war, which continued from the death of queen Joanna, was ſo unfortunate, that, after having gained a victory, Louis found himſelf deſtitute both of men and money, and was obliged to abandon the attempt.

The

The pope in vain publiſhed a thundering bull againſt Ladiſlas, commanding all biſhops, under pain of excommunication, ſolemnly to declare him an excommunicated, perjured, relapſed heretic, &c. at every feſtival; and under the ſame penalty prohibiting him from burial, at the ſame time granting the privileges of a cruſade to all who ſhould take up arms againſt him; yet the next year, 1412, he acknowledged Ladiſlas king of Naples, and even promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of Sicily, upon condition that he would abandon Gregory XII. who fled from Gaieta to Rimini, where he was well recieved by Charles Malateſta.

Bull againſt king Ladiſlas.

John acknowledges him afterwards.

John XXIII. and Ladiſlas, very ſoon quarrelled again, becauſe the king was not of a humour to be ruled by the pope; and, having come to an open rupture, in 1413, Ladiſlas took Rome, where he committed many acts of violence. John fled for refuge to Bologna, and implored the aſſiſtance of the emperour Sigiſmond, who took advantage of that circumſtance to bring about his ſcheme of eccleſiaſtical pacification. He earneſtly deſired to have a council aſſembled, which might be able to reform the church, and check the ambition of the pontiffs. Sigiſmond propoſed, that it ſhould be held at Conſtance, a city in his own dominions; but the pope refuſed to aſſemble it there. However, he was at laſt conſtrained to give his conſent; yet, after all, made ſome fruitleſs efforts to elude it. During a month, which was ſpent in holding a conference at Lodi, where John always appeared in his pontificals, and Sigiſmond in the habit of a deacon, the prince at laſt wreſted from him the bull of convocation. During theſe tranſactions Ladiſlas died; but all Europe was in commotion about the council, which the pope could no longer put off.

He next makes war againſt him.

Sigiſmond in Italy.

He cauſes the council of Conſtance to be aſſembled.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Council of Conſtance and its Conſequences.

1414. Prodigious aſſembly at Conſtance

WHEN all whoſe duty it was to attend the council were aſſembled, a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, and doctors; above a hundred ſovereign princes of Germany, with the emperour at their head; twenty ſeven ambaſſadours, and innumerable deputies from all the different ſtates and communities in Europe, were ſeen collected in Conſtance. It is not ſurpriſing, that a crowd of minſtrels and courteſans ſhould have followed this multitude, in an age when the lives even of the clergy were not the moſt exemplary. John XXIII. opened the council at the end of the year 1414, which was ended by Martin V. in 1418. We ſhall give ſome idea of their moſt important tranſactions.

Regulations for the council.

It was at firſt determined, that votes ſhould be taken by nations, and not by heads; and there were five nations, viz. Germany, France, England, Italy, and afterwards Spain, when the Spaniards gave up their pope Benedict. This regulation was neceſſary, becauſe the Italian biſhops alone out-numbered all the reſt. The pope in vain objected to this, and likewiſe to a propoſal of giving a voice in the deliberations to laymen, among whom a number of learned men were to be found.

John XXIII. abdicates.

Sigiſmond, who did not love the pontiff, imagined that his abdication was neceſſary to put an end to the ſchiſm, and the council were of the ſame opinion. It was requiſite that John ſhould ſign a form of reſignation; but he had ſcarce ſubſcribed it when he repented. The duke of Auſtria, whoſe favour he had purchaſed, gave a tournament on purpoſe to let him have an opportunity of making his eſcape in the crowd; and in fact, the pope, diſguiſed in the habit of a poſtillion, with

He repents and flies.

with the duke after him, ſaved themſelves by flight. On the one hand, the emperour ſeized the lands of the duke; and on the other, the council prepared for the trial of the pope, who was accuſed of ſeveral enormous crimes. He was depoſed as ſimonical, debauched, and incorrigible, and the ſentence notified to him, for he had been taken at Fribourg in Briſgau. He ſubmitted, and was tranſported to the ſame priſon in which John Hus was confined, who afterwards periſhed in the flames. The ſuperiority of the council over the pope was determined during the fourth ſeſſion, ſoon after the eſcape of John XXIII.

His trial.

Gregory XII. at laſt abdicated; but Peter Luna, Benedict XIII. who had taken ſhelter at Perpignan, preſerved his haughty obſtinacy; and though the emperour paid him a viſit, in order to prevail with him, it was to no purpoſe. Being at length abandoned by the kings of Arragon, Caſtile, Navarre, &c. he retired to the caſtle of Paniſcola, from whence he continued to fulminate his excommunications againſt the whole world: however, that did not prevent his being depoſed by a ſentence of the council.

Gregory XII. abdicates, but Benedict XIII. continues inflexible.

The popes being all depoſed, now was the time for the council to accompliſh the grand ſcheme of reforming the church, both in its head and members; this was the favourable moment, when the particular intereſt of the papacy did not obſtruct the general advantage, ſo difficult to be reconciled with ſuch an intereſt. But the cardinals, dreading that reformation which they affected to approve, alledged that it ought to be made by a pope, and that one ſhould be elected for that purpoſe. This opinion prevailed, in oppoſition to the reaſons given by the emperour, the Germans, and the Engliſh. It was ſettled, for once only, that thirty deputies of the council ſhould concur in the election with the cardinals; and Otho Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. was unanimouſly elected.

The proper moment for a reformation was let ſlip.

Election of Martin V.

Experience

There was no reformation

Experience very ſoon ſhewed that the Germans and Engliſh were not miſtaken. Though a number of articles were agreed upon before the pope was elected, which they allowed to ſtand in need of reformation, ſuch as annates, reſervations, reverſions, diſpenſations, indulgences, appeals to the court of Rome, caſes in which the pontiff might be corrected and depoſed, &c. yet no reformation took place, nor was any thing done but iſſuing a few vague decretals on articles of leſs conſequence; and the pope got rid of the council, by appointing another to be held at Pavia. It was ordered that a general council ſhould be held in five years after this; another in ſeven years after the ſecond; and, for the future, one every ten years—But muſt not innumerable obſtructions, either from the pontiffs or from ſovereigns, have been foreſeen, which would render this ordinance ineffectual?

Councils appointed fruitleſsly

John Hus deteſted by the Germans. The reaſon.

The manner in which John Hus and Jerome of Prague were treated by the council of Conſtance, is an unanſwerable proof, if the leaſt doubt could be entertained, that bigotry and party ſpirit had too great an influence in church affairs, to leave any poſſible hopes of a pure ſyſtem of legiſlation, at leaſt till a very diſtant period. John Hus, rector of the univerſity of Prague, founded by Charles IV. and confeſſor of the queen of Bohemia, the wife of Wenceſlas, had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the Germans by a ſimple regulation of diſcipline. He obtained, for his countrymen the Bohemians, three votes in the univerſity to one of the Germans, inſtead of the Germans having three to one of the Bohemians; upon which, almoſt forty thouſand foreign ſtudents withdrew; for the univerſity of Prague, like that of Paris, had attracted thouſands of people, who were leſs calculated for ſtudy, than anxious for the ſecurity of their academical privileges.

He is burnt, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct of the emperour.

The great misfortune of this theologian was, that he reliſhed and maintained the doctrine of Wickliffe, eſpecially againſt the hierarchy. He was excommunicated by John XXIII. but, being provided with a ſafe conduct from

from the emperour, had the boldneſs to appear at Conſtance to vindicate his conduct and his ſentiments. The paſſport did not ſave him from being put in priſon; he was proſecuted, his books condemned, opinions were aſcribed to him which he denied, and he offered to explain the reſt; but moderation was forgotten, and the council inſiſted that he ſhould abſolutely retract, which he poſitively refuſed. Being degraded and delivered over to the ſecular power, even by order of Sigiſmond, he ſuffered the cruel puniſhment of fire.

Jerome of Prague likewiſe burnt.

His diſciple, Jerome of Prague, a man of ſuperiour merit, had recanted, but, animated by the courage of John Hus, retracted his recantation as a crime, and periſhed in the flames, bleſſing God. Poggio, who had been ſecretary to ſeveral pontiffs, was an eye witneſs of his death, and compares it to that of Socrates.

The doctrine of tyrannicide with difficulty condemned.

Gerſon, who was the oracle of the univerſity of Paris, and ambaſſadour from France to the council, it is ſaid, had a great ſhare in the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the two theologians. His zeal againſt tyrannicide, which was taught by John Petit, was not ſo effectual, though undoubtedly ſuch doctrine deſerved much greater ſeverity; and it was with no ſmall reluctance that it was condemned, without either ſpecifying the book or mentioning the author. This caution proceeded from a dread of the duke of Burgundy.

Fanaticiſm and revolt of the Huſſites.

Let us take notice, in this place, of the dreadful conſequences which followed the deaths of John Hus and his diſciple. Their doctrine had a number of admirers in Bohemia; and their deaths kindled that fanaticiſm, which bids defiance to danger, and ſtifles every ſentiment. Wenceſlas, thinking himſelf injured by the ſentence of the council, favoured the Huſſites, whoſe fury increaſed every day. He died in 1419, and was ſucceeded by his brother Sigiſmond, who was ſoon after declared an enemy to religion and the ſtate, by the Huſſites. John Traſnow, ſurnamed Ziſka (one eyed) their general, defeated him ſeveral times, and obliged him

Ziſka their general.

him to offer diſgraceful conditions. Ziſka, when dying of the plague in 1424, gave orders that a drum ſhould be made of his ſkin, to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage. This war, which was productive of every kind of enormity, laſted almoſt twenty years; a dreadful but fruitleſs example againſt the ſpirit of perſecution, which was become ſo common. Maſſacres were long continued for the ſake of the church; but the only effect was, increaſing the number of her enemies.

CHAP. V.

Succeſs of Henry V. *King of England, in France.—End of the Reign of Charles* VI.

Death of Henry IV. king of England.

DURING the time the council of Conſtance laſted, France experienced new misfortunes, which brought upon her ſtill greater evils. Henry IV. king of England, remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his uſurped crown, but was prevented from executing the enterpriſes which he had projected; a violent diſorder having put an end to his days in 1413. His ſon Henry V. who had formerly led a life of vice and debauchery, no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he became a prudent, virtuous prince, extremely aſſiduous in the cares of government. He had been corrupted by idleneſs; but grandeur, though another ſource of corruption, reformed him, by furniſhing objects for his genius more worthy of his attention; and, if it had not been for that fatal ambition, which brought ſuch heavy calamities upon France, without the leaſt ſolid advantage to England, he would have been a model for crowned heads. Could it have been ſuſpected that it would have been excited by a prelate?

Henry V. his ſucceſſor, a great prince.

Though

Though the parliament perſecuted the Lollards, it did not heſitate to adopt a part of their ſyſtem, and propoſed to the king to ſeize the wealth of the church. In fact, the clergy were compelled to yield a number of benefices to the crown. For this reaſon, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was deſirous of a war, which might direct reſtleſs minds to ſome other object, and made him inſpire Henry V. with a deſire of attacking France, where the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, inſulting the royal authority by turns, ſeemed to preſent a certain conqueſt. They had lately made a profeſſion of being reconciled, but their hearts were implacable.

The primate, from motives of intereſt, ſtirs up a war againſt France.

Notwithſtanding the truce of twenty eight years, which had concluded in 1394, ſeveral acts of hoſtility had fomented the mutual animoſity of the two nations, when Henry landed in Normandy, and took Harfleur, after having loſt a great part of his army during the ſiege. Being diſabled from attempting any thing further, he paſſed the Somme, and retired towards Calais, while he was purſued by an army four times his number. If the French had reflected on the diſaſters of Creci and Poitiers, they might have found certain means of cruſhing or reducing the invaders; but they reflected on nothing, and, hurried on by blind inſtinct, repeated their former errours, which were attended with the ſame misfortunes. The conſtable d'Albert attacked Henry, who had choſen a very advantageous poſt, which was narrow and of difficult acceſs, where the French could not extend their line, nor draw up their army, and where the Engliſh archers very ſoon decided the victory. This famous battle of Azincourt is ſaid to have coſt the Engliſh only forty men, while the French loſt ſeven princes, the conſtable, and about eight thouſand gentlemen who fell in the field. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with a number of the firſt nobility, were taken priſoners.

1415. Invaſion of Normandy.

Battle of Azincourt fatal to France.

Henry, however, being in want both of men and money, was obliged to retire, and concluded a truce.

The reaſon that Henry derived but

Princes

little advantage from his victory.

Princes were ſtill far from that policy, which looks forward to ſecure funds and reſources for a continued war. Subſidies were not ſufficient, there were but few regular forces, armies were raiſed in a hurry, and quickly diſperſed for want of pay and proviſions; ſo that wars were commonly nothing but incurſions for pillage. Kings muſt have acquired power in their dominions before they could carry them on in any other manner.

Dreadful diſcords in France.

After the defeat at Azincourt, the French factions, inſtead of being pacified, became more violent than ever. The count d'Armagnac, having been made conſtable, joined with the dauphin (Charles VII.) took the government into his hands, increaſed the taxes, proſcribed the adherents of John the *Fearleſs*, and ſeized a conſiderable treaſure, the property of queen Iſabella of Bavaria, whom the king had been obliged to confine at Tours, on account of her public diſorders. This princeſs, who had hitherto been the duke's enemy, entered into an alliance with him againſt the ſtate; upon which, he freed her from her confinement, and made himſelf maſter of Paris; when the conſtable, the chancellor, with a number of people of diſtinguiſhed rank, and a multitude of citizens, were maſſacred in that capital. The dauphin, having fled, transferred the parliament to Poitiers; while the queen, arrogating to herſelf the title of regent, held a parliament at Troyes, and the flame of civil war was kindled in the provinces.

The king of England takes advantage of them.

The king of England returned, and made a conqueſt of almoſt all Normandy.

1419. The duke of Burgundy aſſaſſinated.

Rouen continued to hold out, and the dauphin was reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, which was the only means left of preſerving the kingdom; but even this reconciliation occaſioned the greateſt misfortunes. At an interview of the two princes upon the bridge of Montereau, duke John was aſſaſſinated; an atrocious deed, ſuch as he himſelf had committed. The murderers were in the train of the dauphin, who was ſuſpected of the guilt, not without probability, though without

without proof. The queen, and Philip the good, the young duke of Burgundy, tranſported with a blind deſire of vengeance, united againſt him with the enemy of the kingdom.

Infamous treaty at Troyes with Henry V.

Henry V. having made himſelf maſter of Rouen and Pontoiſe, joined them at Troyes, where a diſgraceful treaty was concluded, in 1420, by which Catharine of France, the king's daughter, was given to Henry, who was to govern the kingdom in quality of regent, and to ſucceed to the crown; and Charles, *ſtyling himſelf dauphin*, was declared an enemy to the ſtate, and to be proſecuted as ſuch. Though the fundamental laws of the monarchy were hereby overturned, the treaty was confirmed by a decree of the parliament of Paris; but the moſt faithful of its members had followed the dauphin. The king of England made a public entry into the capital, accompanied by the ſilly Charles VI. the firſt like a ſovereign, the ſecond a deſpicable automaton. Never was there a clearer inſtance of the power which conjunctures ſometimes have, to occaſion the ſentiments of duty to fluctuate.

His entry into Paris

1422. Deaths of Henry V. & Charles VI.

Undoubtedly, a revolution of greater or leſs conſequence muſt have taken place, if it had not been for the death of Henry, who, at the age of thirty three, died of a fiſtula. He appointed the duke of Bedford, the eldeſt of his brothers, regent of France, and his other brother, the duke of Glouceſter, regent of England during the minority of his ſon Henry VI. who was then an infant. His widow, Catharine of France, ſoon after was married to Owen Tudor, a gentleman of the principality of Wales, whoſe deſcendants we ſhall ſee on the throne of England. Charles VI. ſurvived Henry only two months. Not one prince of the blood attended his funeral; but the people, reſpecting the memory of the moſt unfortunate of kings, melted into tears, either from compaſſion or attachment to his perſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Charles VII. *recovers his Kingdom from the Engliſh.—— Reign of Joanna* II. *at Naples, and the Revolution in that Kingdom.*

Dreadful ſituation of Charles VII. and the kingdom.

A FOREIGNER acknowledged ſovereign of the kingdom in Paris, and likewiſe in moſt of the provinces; the lawful king Charles VII. of an eaſy, negligent temper, entirely devoted to pleaſure, young and unexperienced, engaged in making love, and averſe from buſineſs, while another was in poſſeſſion of his crown; Bedford, on the contrary, uniting activity, courage and prudence, to complete and ſecure the conqueſt; an unnatural queen, a revengeful and formidable prince of the blood, with a body of faithleſs magiſtrates, aiding the attempts of the Engliſh—had reduced France to ſuch a terrible ſituation, that nothing but extraordinary remedies could ſave the monarchy. The famous Agnes Sorel, miſtreſs of Charles, from a principle of magnanimity, rouſing the lover whom ſhe held in chains to a ſenſe of his duty, and to engage in the cares of war, contributed to its preſervation. Such an inſtance is very uncommon in hiſtory, where we always ſee princes led aſtray by love, and adding to the diſtreſſes of their ſubjects! The marvellous, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to obſerve, was likewiſe employed as another neceſſary aid. The natural reſources of the kingdom were ſo totally exhauſted, that the mark of ſilver amounted to ninety livres, which did not exceed half a livre in the time of Charlemagne.

Agnes Sorel, friend to the public.

Debaſing of the coin.

The duke of Burgundy quarrels with the Engliſh regent.

The battle of Verneuil, which was loſt in 1424, by the raſhneſs of the conſtable Buchan, a native of Scotland, of the family of Stuart, greatly weakened the party of the king; but the unlawful marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs of Hainault, fortunately

tunately occaſioned a diverſion in his favour. This princeſs had forſaken her huſband, the duke of Brabant, couſin german of Philip duke of Burgundy; and Glouceſter wanted to take poſſeſſion of Hainualt; upon which the Burgundian flew to the aſſiſtance of his couſin. Bedford fruitleſsly attempted to prevent the quarrel; and Charles, taking advantage of theſe troubles, began to recover his affairs, and came to an accommodation with the duke of Bretagne, who was in alliance with England. The ſword of conſtable was given to the duke's brother, the count of Richemont, who was an able general, but of a violent temper, ill ſuited to the manners of a court, and a mortal enemy of thoſe favourites by whom the monarch was beſet. Sometimes he quarrelled with Charles; at others, he domineered over him, and diſmiſſed his miniſters. However, he deſerved, by his zeal and courage, as did likewiſe the celebrated Dunois, a natural ſon of the houſe of Orleans, to be reckoned among the ſaviours of the kingdom, which ſtood in need of ſuch heroes, and which, notwithſtanding their aſſiſtance, was on the brink of ruin.

This diverſion uſeful.

Richemont conſtable.

Dunois.

Bedford, at his return from England, where he had been to put himſelf in a condition to proſecute the war with new vigour, undertook the ſiege of Orleans, that he might open a paſſage to the ſouthern provinces. The town was already hard preſſed, and the king diſpoſed to make a ſhameful retreat, when he was inſpired with more worthy ſentiments by queen Mary of Anjou, and principally by Agnes Sorel.

1428. Siege of Orleans.

A young female ſaint, of the dioceſe of Toul, whoſe name was Joan d'Arc, made her appearance at this time, declaring herſelf inſpired, that ſhe would raiſe the ſiege, and cauſe the king to be conſecrated in Reims. She was examined, believed, and even people the leaſt credulous were hurried on by the prevailing enthuſiaſm, or pretended to follow it, in hopes of turning it to the advantage of the kingdom. The Maid of Orleans (this was the name

Joan d'Arc is believed to be inſpired to ſave the king.

which

which was given her) armed cap à pié, and carrying a conſecrated banner in her hand, was univerſally regarded as a tutelar angel. Her confidence, valour and virtue animated the troops, who did not doubt of the miracle, nor of courſe the certainty of victory. This aſtoniſhing girl, who animated every thing, but who was ſkilfully guided by Dunois, penetrated into the beſieged town, ſtruck the Engliſh with a panic, and made them decamp, after an obſtinate ſiege which had laſted ſeven months.

She cauſes the ſiege to be raiſed.

The conſecration of the king at Reims was, perhaps, a more ſurpriſing prodigy. He had to croſs a country of about fourſcore leagues, in poſſeſſion of the enemy, with twelve thouſand men, though almoſt entirely deſtitute both of money and proviſions. This bold enterpriſe was riſked upon the promiſe of Joan d'Arc, and againſt all probability ſucceeded Opinion does more than force, and prudence required, that the king ſhould make the attempt to profit by the prevailing opinion. She ſtruck both parties equally, though in a very different manner; the one believing they were protected by the immediate hand of heaven; the other, that they were attacked by all the powers of hell.

1429. Charles VII. conſecrated at Reims.

After the conſecration of the king, the Maid of Orleans deſired leave to retire, as ſhe ſaid the purpoſes of her miſſion were accompliſhed; but they detained her, and her good fortune vaniſhed. The duke of Burgundy having laid ſiege to Compeigne, ſhe wanted to ſave the place; but, being wounded in a ſally, fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who gave her up to the Engliſh. Bedford, either to diſpel the illuſion of a miracle, or to ſatisfy the revenge of his army, or from a fit of paſſion, which it is not poſſible to vindicate, inſtead of reſpecting the courage of the heroine, or at leaſt treating her as a priſoner of war, cauſed her to be tried as a heretic and ſorcereſs by an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, who had ſold themſelves to the moſt diſgraceful iniquity, and ſhe was burnt at Rouen in 1431. The trial, the interrogatories, the ſentence, and the puniſhment, all together

The Maid of Orleans taken at Compeigne.

She was burnt as a ſorcereſs and heretic.

together conſpire to fill the mind with horrour and indignation. The univerſity of Paris had a great ſhare in this tranſaction, which we ſhould attend to as a proof of the falſe, fanatical ſpirit, which had at that time taken root in the ſchools; a ſpirit which had a too powerful influence in ſtate affairs.

1435. The duke of Burgundy makes his peace with the king.

This abominable tranſaction rendered the Engliſh yoke ſtill more odious; and the French, having awaked from their delirium, in general became impatient to ſubmit to Charles VII. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, provoked by the haughty behaviour of Bedford, deſiſted from perſecuting a king of his own blood, contrary to the intereſt of his family, in order to gratify the ambition of a foreign prince. He opened the conference for agreeing to a peace at Arras, to which Eugenius IV. and the council of Bâle, as mediators, ſent legates, and all the princes of Europe ſent ambaſſadours. An offer was made to the court of London to yield up Normandy and Guienne; and, upon its being rejected by the Engliſh, the duke made a ſeparate treaty in 1435, when he impoſed the conditions, which, though humiliating, the king was glad to accept.

Death of queen Iſabella & the duke of Bedford

The ſame year died Iſabella of Bavaria, and the duke of Bedford. Iſabella derived no advantage from her horrid crimes, but the hatred of the French, and the contempt of the Engliſh: a memorable example of the dangers with which wicked actions are always ſurrounded. Bedford had brought diſhonour upon himſelf by the death of the Maid of Orleans, and this ſtain tarniſhed the glory of an uncommon degree of merit. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, occaſioned ſome diſturbances in England, which were favourable to France.

The Engliſh driven out of France.

The conſtable Richemont took Paris from the Engliſh in the year 1436, and every day they loſt ſome part of their poſſeſſions in France. Charles, either by himſelf, or by his generals and miniſters, recovered the provinces, and reſtored the kingdom to order. In 1451,

Normandy and Guienne had been again united to the crown, and the Engliſh had loſt all but Calais, of which they kept poſſeſſion more than a hundred years.

Cauſes of this ſpeedy revolution.

The cauſes which produced ſuch a ſpeedy revolution are very evident. That wrong-headedneſs, which had blinded a great part of France, being contrary to the national diſpoſition, could not fail to be ſoon diſpelled.

1ſt, The intereſt of the French

Could they ſuffer the abrogation of the Salic law, that eſſential foundation for the happineſs of the monarchy? Could they ſubmit to a foreign dominion, notwithſtanding the great love and reſpect which they bore to the royal family, and ſo many reaſons for preferring a prince of their own nation?

2d, Even that of the Engliſh.

Beſides, the Engliſh, who were more anxious to preſerve their own privileges than to aggrandize their ſovereigns, ſaw very plainly, that if France was conquered, England would become a province; they therefore were but little inclined to promote a conqueſt, of which they had reaſon to dread the conſequences. Even Henry V. drew but very moderate ſubſidies from his parliament, and was obliged to borrow from all hands, even to pledge his jewels and his crown, in order to defray the expenſe of the war.

3d, The troubles in England.

Laſt of all, the civil diſcords, with which that kingdom was agitated, would alone have been ſufficient to have freed France from oppreſſion. The duke of Glouceſter, uncle of the weak Henry, ſet the whole kingdom in commotion by his cabals; he was therefore ſeized, and died a few days after, probably by aſſaſſination. But the ſanguinary factions of the *red roſe* and the *white roſe*, which very ſoon diſplayed their rage, made England a field of carnage. In another place, we ſhall ſee the revolutions which they occaſioned.

Diſorderly life of Joanna II. queen of Naples.

One happened at Naples, which was occaſioned by the weakneſs of Joanna II. the ſiſter and heireſs of Ladiſlas. This diſſolute princeſs gave herſelf up immediately to a favourite, which cauſed a general murmuring and diſcontent.

James of Bourbon, her huſ-

James of Bourbon married her in the year 1415, and was acknowledged king. He cauſed the

favourite

favourite to be executed, and the queen to be confined; and perhaps would have reigned in tranquillity, if he had conducted himself prudently with the Neapolitans; but he provoked them, by lavishing offices upon the French. Cabals were formed against him, and Joanna recovered her authority only to abuse it a second time. James was made prisoner, and the French were driven out of the kingdom, when a new favouite made himself master both of the queen and the state. Martin V. who had been elected pope by the council of Constance, procured the king's liberty, as he had already obtained the places which had been conquered from the holy see by Ladislas; but James desired rather to return to France, than to remain, without power, a melancholy witness of his wife's misconduct. He turned monk, and died at Besançon.

band, a prisoner.

James Sforza, a great general, whom some believe to have been the son of a gentleman, and others of a peasant, became constable of Naples, and standard bearer of the Roman Church; when, being provoked at the favour in which he saw Sergiani Carraciolo, who was the minister and paramour of the queen, he excited Louis III. of Anjou to come and seize the kingdom, of which his predecessors could only gain the empty title. Joanna, to secure a defender, adopted Alphonso V. king of Arragon and Sicily, and the two rivals made war against each other; but the king of Arragon, observing that the queen changed her sentiments with regard to him, caused the favourite to be imprisoned, which made him hateful to Joanna. Sforza seized this opportunity of attacking Alphonso, and, having defeated him, was reconciled to Carraciolo; after which he persuaded the queen to adopt Louis d'Anjou, upon which Alphonso retired; but he returned afterwards, and got possession of the crown. René d'Anjou, who was adopted after his brother Louis, enjoyed some pompous, empty titles in France. Joanna reigned from the year 1414 to 1435, when she died, and was the last person of the first house of Anjou.

James Sforza invites Louis d'Anjou.

Joanna adopts the king of Arragon, and afterwards Louis and René d'Anjou.

Death of Joanna.

She took the title of queen of Rome.

We may obſerve, that, from the example of her brother Ladiſlas, ſhe took the title of queen of Rome, even after it had been reſtored to pope Martin. A king of Naples, poſſeſſed of abilities and ambition, taking advantage of the great ſchiſm, might have made himſelf ſovereign where he was only vaſſal.

Alphonſo of Arragon ſeizes Naples.

After the death of Joanna, the two competitors for the crown were both priſoners at the ſame time: René, to the duke of Burgundy; and Alphonſo, to Philip Galeazzo Viſconti, duke of Milan, whoſe fleet had defeated him at Gaietta. When they both recovered their liberty, the war was renewed, which was finiſhed in 1442, by the king of Arragon having made a conqueſt of Naples, which he took by aſſault. René returned to France.

A number of titles in Europe, but without reality.

"He bore the titles of *king of Naples, Sicily, Jeruſalem,* "*Arragon, Valencia, Majorca, duke of Lorraine and Bar*; "but was none of all theſe. This multiplicity of uſe- "leſs titles, founded upon claims which have never been "realized, are a ſource of confuſion in our modern hiſ- "tories, which renders them often diſagreeable, and per- "haps ridiculous. The hiſtory of Europe is become an "immenſe verbal proceſs of marriage contracts, genea- "logies, and diſputed titles, which bury every thing in "obſcurity and unmeaning inſipidity; by which great "events, a knowledge of laws and manners, and ob- "jects the moſt deſerving of attention, are totally ſmo- "thered." This remark of M. de Voltaire points out the path we ſhould purſue. Let us leave the minutiæ of vanity and trifling curioſity unnoticed, and employ ourſelves in the purſuit of whatever is truly intereſting to mankind; being perſuaded that one juſt idea in matters of importance, or, what is ſtill more, a ſingle virtuous ſentiment, acquired by the ſtudy of hiſtory, is more valuable than the knowledge of events which produce nothing uſeful.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Council of Bâle, and its Conſequences.

THE affairs of the church again demand our attention, becauſe all others are connected with them. Manners, opinions, laws, politics, the happineſs or miſery of ſociety, for a long time depended on them, in a much greater degree than they ought, in the nature of things; and from thence ſuch numbers of troubles and abuſes have been perpetuated under the maſk of religion. The affairs of the church

After the council of Conſtance, the untractable Peter Luna (Benedict XIII.) defended his phantom of a papacy upon the rock of Peniſcola, till the year 1424, when he died. He commanded two cardinals, who were all that remained of his court, to chooſe a ſucceſſor; and another antipope ſprung up, by the name of Clement VIII. who was acknowledged by Alphonſo, king of Arragon, becauſe he was diſpleaſed with pope Martin. That pontiff had transferred the general council, appointed by the fathers who ſat at Conſtance, from Pavia to Sienna, and from thence to Bâle, where it was not to be held for ſeven years; that is, he would not have one, or he hoped to evade it altogether. In the mean time, he made his peace with the king of Arragon, and the antipope readily reſigned. Martin V. died in 1431, the ſame year in which the council was ſummoned. His ſucceſſor, Eugenius IV. who was no leſs afraid of this aſſembly, was ſatisfied with ſending a legate, and reſolved to diſſolve the meeting if they formed any enterpriſe againſt his authority, of which there was great appearance, ſince they were always talking of a reformation. Death of Benedict XIII. Another antipope. Convocation of the council of Bâle. Death of Martin V.

Accordingly, the council quarrelled with the pope the very firſt ſeſſion, as they began with renewing the decree 1431. Eugenius IV. immediately

quarrels with the council.

cree of Conſtance on the ſuperiority of the council. Eugenius, being cited to appear, with the cardinals, before the aſſembly, took care not to obey the ſummons, nor to expoſe himſelf to the fate of John XXIII. and they were preparing for his condemnation, when Sigiſmond procured a reſpite for him.

He at laſt ſends legates.

At laſt, four cardinals arrived with full power to act in the name of the pope, and to adhere to the decrees of the council. This apparent reconciliation proceeded from dread of the duke of Milan. The Campania di Roma was laid waſte; and the Romans were ſo enraged by theſe ravages, that Eugenius fled, for fear of a ſedition.

The emperour of Conſtantinople embarks in the pope's gallies.

By his abilities and ſtrength of genius, however, he ſoon roſe ſuperiour to his difficulties. The emperour of Conſtantinople, John Paleologus II. not being able to withſtand the Turks, and deſtitute of every reſource but the Latins, propoſed the reunion of the two churches; a ſpecious project, frequently attempted, but always rendered fruitleſs by inſurmountable prejudices. The Greek prince was to appear in perſon, with a number of his prelates, and the council ſent gallies for their conveyance; but Eugenius having diſpatched his, which made more haſte, they were preferred by the Greeks. His purpoſe was to transfer the council into Italy, and there to complete the great work of the reunion himſelf.

Violent rupture of Eugenius with the council of Bâle.

Being ſummoned by the aſſembly of Bâle on that account, in 1437, he diſſolved the council by a bull, and convoked another to meet at Ferrara; the following year they declared him contumacious, and ſuſpended him from all juriſdiction, ſpiritual and temporal. On his part, he declared, that all who remained at the council which he had diſſolved, were excommunicated. This war of anathemas could not fail to give offence and diſguſt to the Greeks; but their hiſtory affords an infinite number of ſuch examples. We may inceſſantly obſerve, that, in the immenſe variety of human affairs, there is an univerſal ſimilarity; every where the ſame paſſions and the ſame grounds of errour, and, from theſe two ſources, the ſame exceſſes and the ſame follies.

Eugenius,

Eugenius, at his council, which he transferred from Ferrara to Florence, ſeemed to triumph over that moſt obſtinate ſchiſm. After keen diſputes, the Greeks admitted the *proceſſion* of the Holy Ghoſt and the primacy of the pope; ſo that there was no difficulty remained to prevent the accommodation, and they embraced, as a ſign of peace and reconciliation. The Roman church would have had room for ſelf congratulation on this unheard of victory, if Palcologus, and thoſe who accompanied him, could have fixed the belief of a people who were attached to their religious errours with a degree of infatuation. What trifling matters will diſturb the peace, on ſuch points! One of the principal objects of diſpute was purgatory, which the Greeks conſidered only as a place of darkneſs and melancholy, while the Latins aſſerted, that ſouls were there purified by fire. The council of Florence agreed that ſouls were purified there; but it was of little conſequence to ſay by what means, whether by fire, by darkneſs, or by tempeſts, &c. This deciſion ſufficiently marks the manner in which diſputes may be terminated, provided the diſputants are willing to come to an underſtanding; but the Greeks did not change their opinions.

Council of Florence, where the Greeks ſubmit to the Roman church.

This union could not be laſting.

The council of Bâle had hitherto ſhewn great prudence in its decrees regarding diſcipline; but every aſſembly is affected by party ſpirit, and their rage againſt Eugenius burſt forth beyond all decency. That pontiff, who was the author of the reunion of the two rival churches, was depoſed in the thirty fourth ſeſſion, as *being guilty of ſimony, perjury, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic, unworthy of either honour or dignity*. Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was at that time a hermit at Ripaille, was choſen pope by the name of Felix V. I need not mention their reciprocal excommunications. Poggio, the ſecretary of Eugenius, retorted the abuſe, calling the fathers of Bâle *blockheads, fools, madmen, wild beaſts*; and the antipope, *a Cerberus, a golden calf, a Mahomet, an Antichriſt*; which was the ſtyle of ſeveral ages. Greater evils

1439. Eugenius depoſed at Bâle.

A ſcandalous ſchiſm, but productive of no important conſequences

evils were prevented by the powers of Europe preſerving a prudent neutrality; they always acknowledged Eugenius, without withdrawing from the council of Bâle; and very little ſubmiſſion was ſhewn to Felix, who abdicated in 1447, after the election of Nicholas V. the ſucceſſor of Eugenius.

Decrees of the council of Bale

The canonical elections reſtored; annates declared ſimonical; reſervations, ſurvivances, and other uſurpations of the court of Rome, diſallowed; a third of the benefices deſtined to thoſe who had taken degrees; appeals to the pope prohibited without a previous trial before the ordinary; and, in caſe of an appeal, the pope obliged to refer to judges on the ſpot; the ſuperiority of the general council expreſſly acknowledged; and the number of cardinals limited to twenty four; were the principal decrees publiſhed at Bâle, and inſerted in the pragmatic ſanction made by Charles VII. at Bourges in 1438. This famous law could not longer reſiſt the intrigues of the court of Rome, though it granted a juriſdiction to the pope, unknown to the primitive church. The pontifical power had ſtill great opportunity of exerciſing its dominion.

Pragmatic ſanction of Charles VII.

Could it have been concieved that, after the cruel torment of John Hus and Jerome of Prague at Conſtance, the Huſſites, the avengers of the cauſe of theſe two theologians, would appear at the council of Bâle? But they had nothing to fear; for the general Procopius, the imitator and ſucceſſor of Ziſka, was there with a numerous train. Many fruitleſs diſputes were raiſed on theological controverſy, and Procopius reaſoned ſo as to evade every kind of argument. According to him, for example, the monks were *an invention of the devil*, ſince Jeſus Chriſt founded no ſuch inſtitution.

Huſſites at the council of Bale

Uſeleſs diſputes.

However, this proceeding proved fatal to the Huſſites; for the council ſent deputies into Bohemia, to continue the conference for accommodation, & theſe deputies took the opportunity artfully to ſow diſcord, and to ſtir up the nobles and citizens againſt the fanatical, ſavage ſectaries.

The deputies of the council ſow diviſions in Bohemia.

The

The catholics, taking advantage of these dissensions, defeated them in a great battle, which was fought in 1434, when Procopius was killed, all the infantry taken prisoners, and barbarously burnt in barns. The Hussites now became more inhuman, and the stake at which their apostles suffered, seemed to kindle their rage and fanataciſm afresh; but at last Sigismond entered into a treaty, and the Bohemians submitted, upon condition of a general amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of receiving the communion in both kinds, which was permitted to them by the council of Bâle. Such a submission was a kind of triumph.

Sigismond at last brings that kingdom into subjection

Sigismond died in 1437, leaving his whole succession to his son in law Albert II. duke of Austria, who died two years after, and was succeeded in the imperial throne by Frederic III. of Austria, in whose family the empire has continued ever since. Under the following epocha we shall have occasion to mention the war in which that house had been already engaged with the Turks; but in this place I shall confine myself to an important subject connected with the council of Bâle.

The house of Austria fixed on the imperial throne

1447. Grievances alledged by the Germans against the court of Rome.

The usurpations of the court of Rome were equally complained of in Germany and France. The clergy were ruined by taxes, tenths, and arbitrary annates; the pope continually arrogated to himself the disposal of benefices; indulgences, and all kinds of privileges, were sold by his commissioners; and even civil causes were brought before his tribunal. A pragmatic, such as that of Charles VII. would have extirpated the greatest part of these abuses, and the foundation was laid by the decrees of the council; but the weakness of Frederic III. who, contrary to the rights of the empire, had entreated Eugenius IV. to confirm his election, obstructed so desirable a reformation. At the diet of Aschaffenburg in 1447, where Nicholas V. was acknowledged, he established what is called the *Germanic concordate*, which is still observed, though it excited great murmurs at its being first introduced. This concordate, by restoring the

Germanic concordate of Frederic III.

the election of bishops and abbots, except in particular cases, leaves to the pope the nomination to canonries for six months in the year, and, instead of annates, grants him a fixed sum proportioned to the revenue of the benefices; and with such advantages the court of Rome might be comforted for its losses.

Death of the last Visconti, duke of Milan.

Frederic was desirous of the empty honour of being crowned in Italy. A revolution had just happened in Milan, by the death of the last Visconti, when the duke of Orleans claimed the succession in right of his mother, who was the daughter of duke John Galeazzo. Alphonso, king of Naples, pretended to it, as being the heir by will, while, at the same time, the people wanted to erect it into a republic; but the disputes were terminated by Francis Sforza, a natural son of the celebrated general, whose fate we have already seen. Francis, having married a natural daughter of Philip Marie, the last duke, without any better title took possession of the Milanese, and established his claim by force of arms.

Francis Sforza seizes the Milanese.

1450. Frederic humbles himself at Rome, that he might be crowned emperour.

It was at this time that the emperour crossed the Alps; but he did not go by the way of Lombardy, as was the common custom, probably, because he was afraid of Sforza; however, he arrived at Rome, after having taken an oath that he would not exercise any right of sovereignty, but with the pope's consent, and even humbled himself so far as to yield the precedence to the cardinals; he then received the crown of Italy and that of the empire from pope Nicholas, after which he made haste to depart, as he had been required by the pontiff. Frederic III. was the last emperour that performed such a ceremony; and it was probably an effect of his superstition, which was so great, that, before he would consummate his marriage even in Italy, he made use of all sorts of preservatives against enchantment, lest he should have a child whose character should resemble that of the Italians.

His superstition.

Let

Let us not be ſurpriſed at the councils of Bâle and Conſtance having done ſo little good; abuſes could not be corrected without a conſiderable ſhare of underſtanding, and even princes and governments were but ill informed. Popular ſuperſtitions prevailed in every rank; and the doctors of Paris, as well as the other adverſaries of the court of Rome, were in general more aſſiduous to defend their benefices, than able to eſtabliſh thoſe truths which are eſſential to good government. Some extravagances were ſtill to be ſeen, which diſgraced the mode of worſhip: the feaſt of fools, the feaſt of aſſes, the cuſtom of dragging people naked to church, who were found in bed the firſt of May, or the ſecond holiday of Eaſter, and giving them a kind of baptiſm. Unchaſte prieſts kept their concubines in other houſes, and thought they did all that was required by the canons, which prohibited them from having *chamberers at home*. It was neceſſary that the council of Paris ſhould explain the ſenſe of the precept.

A reformation of the church prevented by the manners and ignorance of the age.

The dignitaries of the church, in ſome degree, ſtill preſerved their ancient manners. John, ſurnamed the *Mercileſs*, biſhop of Liege, cauſed the whole garriſon of a caſtle, which he had taken by aſſault, to be hanged; a prieſt ſerved him as executioner; that prieſt was afterwards condemned to be burnt; and the prelate reſigned his ſee, that he might marry a wife. Thus manners and prejudices contended againſt ſchemes of reformation.

John the Mercileſs biſhop of Liege.

It was naturally to be expected, then, that religion would ſtill afford a pretence for the moſt enormous exceſſes, until humanity ſhould follow in the train of ſound reaſon; men be no longer actuated by a ſelfiſh regard to the advantage of their peculiar order; true principles penetrate through the clouds of prejudice and intereſt; the people be inſtructed, and not blinded, by their guides; ſound morals extinguiſh the rage of theological diſſenſions; and, laſtly, the civil power ſhew the reſpect which is due to religion, and confine its miniſ-

What was neceſſary to prevent religion affording a pretence for exceſſes.

ters

ters within the bounds of their duty. The empire of the Eaſt, whoſe fall we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the eighth epocha, mouldered away becauſe it never enjoyed theſe advantages.

EIGHTH

EIGHTH EPOCHA.

GREEK EMPIRE *deſtroyed by the* TURKS.—*The* MEDICIS *at* FLORENCE.—FERDINAND *and* ISABELLA *in* SPAIN.

[From the Middle to near the End of the Fifteenth Century.]

CHAP. I.

Progreſs of the Turks from the Time of Othman to Mahomet II.—*Taking of Conſtantinople.*

FROM the time that Michael Paleologus drove the Latins out of Conſtantinople, in 1261, this empire, which was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of debility before the cruſades, being equally expoſed to the depredations of the Chriſtians and Turks, and diſtracted by inteſtine commotions, preſerved only a high ſounding name, while it tottered on the brink of ruin. The monaſtic ſpirit ſeemed to quench the laſt glimmering rays of common ſenſe; narrow, ſuperſtitious ideas directed the meaſures of government, while they did not check the courſe of heinous crimes. Andronicus, the ſon of Paleologus, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, that the Greek empire was under the peculiar protection of heaven, and therefore a fleet was unneceſſary. For this reaſon, that advantageous and indiſpenſable defence was totally neglected; and the conſequence was, that the country was firſt ravaged by pirates, and then overrun by the Turks.

Deplorable ſtate of the Greek empire, from the time of Michael Paleologus.

A great number of Turks had taken refuge in the mountains, that they might not be ſubjected to the yoke

Othman reſtores the Turkiſh power.

yoke of the Mongol Tartars. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, they appeared again under the conduct of Othman, whoſe poſterity fills the throne at this day, and to whom the Ottoman empire is indebted for its origin. Othman's rapid conqueſts paved the way for thoſe of his ſucceſſors. His ſon Orcan, already maſter of a great part of Aſia Minor, was on his march to attack Thrace, when Cantacuzenus, colleague of the emperour John Paleologus I. gave him his daughter in marriage, in order to ſtop his progreſs. Cantacuzenus, who had uſurped the empire, at laſt put on the monaſtic habit. John Paleologus, after having in vain ſupplicated the Italian ſtates for ſuccours, and ſubmitted to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of pope Urban, was obliged, in 1370, to conclude a ſhameful treaty with Amurath, ſon of Orcan, by which he obliged himſelf to pay tribute. The ſultan had paſſed the Straits, taken Adrianople, and ſpread univerſal terrour. He eſtabliſhed the janiſſaries on the ſame footing as they are at preſent. He was murdered by a Chriſtian renegado. His ſon Bajazet, ſurnamed *Ilderim* (the thunderer), was ſtill more formidable. Conquerors ſeldom degenerate till they reap in peace the delicious fruits of their conqueſts.

His ſon Orcan marries the daughter of Cantacuzenus.

Amurath makes Conſtantinople tributary.

Troubles at Conſtantinople fomented by the Greeks.

The whole Greek empire was reduced to little more than the precincts of Conſtantinople; yet diſcord ſtill prevailed in it. Andronicus, eldeſt ſon of John Paleologus, revolted againſt his father, who had ordered his eyes to be put out. Theſe diſſenſions were fomented by the Genoeſe, who, by help of their fleet, were become maſters of the trade, and even of part of the city. The emperour was confined in priſon two years. Having recovered his authority, he undertook to fortify Conſtantinople; but Bajazet ſent him orders to demoliſh the works, and was obeyed. What a preſage of unavoidable and ſpeedy ruin!

The European princes march a-

Mean time, the Chriſtian princes were alarmed, and rouſed to war, by the progreſs of the Turks. The flower of the French nobility, under John the *Fearleſs*, count

count of Nevers, haſtened to join the army, which was commanded by Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, and afterwards emperour. This monarch having laid ſiege to Nicopolis, on the Danube, Bajazet advanced, and viewed the ſituation of the enemy; when, perceiving that they only had courage, without the leaſt ſhare of prudence, he drew them into an ambuſcade, and gained a great victory, in 1396. He is reproached with maſſacring almoſt all the priſoners; but the French had ſet him the example before the battle. At that time, France was diſtracted by furious factions under Charles VI. and the laws of humanity were ſcarce better known in that country than among the Turks.

gainſt Bajazet I.

Defeated at Nicopolis in 1396.

Conſtantinople was already beſieged; and Manuel Paleologus, ſon and ſucceſſor of John, purchaſed an appearance of peace, by ſubmitting to an annual tribute of ten thouſand pieces of gold, obliging himſelf to permit a moſque to be built, and to receive a cadi, for the adminiſtration of juſtice among the Turks reſident in the city. Afterwards, ſeeing a new ſtorm gathering, he ſet out, and expoſed his weakneſs to Italy, France, and England, imploring ſuccours from every power, and finding none in condition to give it, though the ſpirit of the cruſades ſtill ſubſiſted, with ſo many other follies. His only reſource was in a Tartarian conqueror.

Manuel Paleologus begs ſuccours from every quarter

Timour, or Tamerlane, deſcended, as it is ſaid, from Genghiz Khan, by the female line, a native of Sogdiana (at preſent the country of the Uſbecks), though born to no dominion, yet being endowed with genius, talents, and courage, capable of forming and executing great deſigns, had already ſubdued Perſia, India, and Syria, when the enemies of Bajazet, Muſſulmen and Chriſtians, drew him into Aſia Minor, as a hero who alone was capable of effecting their deliverance. In compliance with their requeſt, he ſent ambaſſadours to the ſultan, threatening him with war, unleſs he reſtored all his conqueſts. Bajazet marched againſt him, met him near Ancyra (Angouri) in Phrygia, and, in 1402, loſt a celebrated battle, in which more than three hundred and forty

Tamerlane declares againſt Bajazet.

Defeats and takes him priſoner.

forty thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen. The ſultan was taken priſoner, and, according to the oriental hiſtorians, generouſly treated by the conqueror, inſtead of being confined in an iron cage, and trampled under foot, as is commonly aſſerted.

The Turks ſupport themſelves notwithſtanding their defeat.

The Turks by this defeat only loſt an army. Whether Tamerlane found too great reſiſtance from their valour, or other motives called him to a diſtance from Aſia Minor; however, Manuel, thinking himſelf out of danger, demoliſhed the moſque in Conſtantinople, and retook ſome places. His vain hopes were ſtill ſtrengthened by the civil wars kindled among the ſons of Bajazet.

Conſtantinople threatened by Amurath II

However, after the death of Mahomet I. who had dethroned and murdered his brother Moſes, or Muſa, Amurath II. ſon of that Mahomet, ſoon laid ſiege to Conſtantinople; but raiſed it, in order to quell the revolt of Muſtapha his brother. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of Theſſalonica, which had a little before been ſubjected to the Venetians, and Conſtantinople was threatened with more danger than ever.

The Greeks break the union entered into with the Roman church.

Manuel died in a monkiſh habit, and his ſucceſſor, John Paleologus, threw himſelf, as we have ſeen, into the arms of the Latins. He imagined, that he could purchaſe ſuccours from them by a reunion with their church; but he only acquired the hatred of his ſubjects. At his return, in 1440, he found the people excited to ſedition by the monks, who were enraged at the tranſactions in Florence. The biſhops in his train, being deteſted as infidels, becauſe they had ſigned the union, for the moſt part retracted; and he himſelf loſt much of his zeal, when he no longer thought it uſeful to his intereſts. Whoever in the leaſt reflects on the fondneſs of the Greeks for ſophiſtry and ſuperſtition, on the authority of the monks among them, the particular reaſons they had for being diſpleaſed with the popes, and the conduct of the ancient cruſades at Conſtantinople, will be at no loſs for the reaſons which perpetuated the ſchiſm.

Mean

Mean time Amurath made war in Hungary, then under the dominion of Ladiſlas VI. king of Poland, who had been crowned by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladiſlas, poſthumous ſon of the emperour Albert. But this dreadful conqueror was ſtopped by the celebrated John Hunniades, at the head of the Hungarian armies, who forced him to raiſe the ſiege of Belgrade, beat him in ſeveral rencounters, and reduced him to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace. Ladiſlas and Amurath ſwore a truce of ten years in 1444; and the latter, diſguſted with his ill fortune, reſigned the ſceptre to his ſon Mahomet II. but the Chriſtians, to their misfortune, drew him from his retreat by the commiſſion of a piece of black treachery.

Hunniades ſtops the progreſs of Amurath.

Abdication of the ſultan.

The Turks, depending on the faith of the truce, which they religiouſly obſerved, had drawn off their forces into Aſia, and this was a reaſon for renewing the war; becauſe it was thought eaſy to vanquiſh them, and deliver Europe from their depredations. The cardinl Julian Ceſarina, legate of Eugenius IV. a violent and unprincipled man, who had ſignalized himſelf in the cruſade againſt the Huſſites, perſuaded the Chriſtians, that the treaty with the Turks was not obligatory; that it was null and impious, being concluded without the approbation of the pope; conſequently, that it might, and even ought to be violated. This judgment was confirmed by Eugenius, who commanded the truce to be broken, and abſolved Ladiſlas from his oath, according to the cuſtom which had for ſeveral ages been eſtabliſhed at Rome.

Truce with the Turks ſhamefully broken.

By what incredible blindneſs had the abſurd maxim, that *faith ought not to be kept with heretics or infidels*, triumphed over the firſt principles of conſcience and reaſon? How was it poſſible not to diſcern, that if perjury was, on ſome occaſions, attended with temporary advantage, it neceſſarily led to the moſt fatal conſequences?—that it authorized the enemies wantonly to break their oaths; deſtroyed the public faith; broke the bonds of ſociety; and ſubſtituted robbery and violence,

Falſe principle of the Chriſtians in that age.

lence, inſtead of the law of nations? The Chriſtians had ample reaſon to repent of their treachery.

1444. Amurath defeats them at Varna, & again abdicates.

The Turks, inflamed with juſt reſentment, and breathing only vengeance, entreated Amurath to put himſelf once more at their head, his ſon Mahomet being too young. He marched againſt the enemy, defeated them at Varna in Bulgaria, and Ladiſlas was ſlain in this battle, with the cardinal Julian. One thing more aſtoniſhing is, to ſee the victorious Amurath again abdicate the empire.

Scanderbeg wreſts Albania from the Turks.

He was a ſecond time obliged to quit his retirement, by the exploits of George Caſtriot, ſurnamed Scanderbeg *(Lord Alexander)*, ſon of a prince of Albania (formerly Epirus.) This young hero, who was carried off as a hoſtage after the conqueſt of his country, and educated in the court of Amurath, had gained that monarch's favour, by his ſuperiour abilities and extraordinary valour. Upon receiving news of his father's death, he formed a reſolution to deprive the Turks of the town of Croy, capital of Albania. Being at the head of a few troops, he obliged a ſecretary belonging to the court, who was paſſing near his camp, to ſign an order to the governour of the place for putting it into his hands. This counterfeit order had the deſired effect. Scanderbeg maſſacred the garriſon, collected the inhabitants of the country under his ſtandard, and made ſuch prudent uſe of the advantage given him by its mountainous ſituation, that Amurath could never overpower him. This ſultan died in 1451, and his ſon became the terrour of the Chriſtians.

Amurath II. ſucceeded by Mahomet II.

Mahomet II. who is commonly painted in ſuch odious colours, to injuſtice and cruelty, the ordinary vices of conquerors, joined an elevation of ſoul, a prudence and knowledge, worthy of commendation. He was acquainted with ſeveral languages, loved the arts, and cultivated aſtronomy. He had given two inſtances of uncommon moderation, by ſuffering his father to leave his retirement, and again aſcend the throne. Where can his

his equal be found among the cotemporary princes? At the age of twenty two he executed the great project formed by his anceſtors, and made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople in 1453.

1453. Siege of Conſtantinople.

The ſiege of this capital offers to our view ſome intereſting objects. The quarrels of theology divided the Greeks to the laſt extremity; yet they fought with all the courage of deſpair. Mahomet, being unable to force the harbour, which was defended by chains of enormous thickneſs, cauſed part of his fleet to be tranſported over land, in one night, for the ſpace of two leagues, by ſliding the veſſels on a wooden platform covered with greaſe: by which almoſt incredible method he found himſelf at once maſter of the port. It is alledged, that he had a piece of cannon ſo prodigiouſly large, that it required ſeventy pair of oxen to draw it. On which ſubject M. de Voltaire remarks, that it being impoſſible to fire a very great quantity of powder together, the ball could not produce any conſiderable effect. "Perhaps (ſays he) the Turks uſed ſuch pieces from "want of military ſkill, and the Greeks dreaded them "from the ſame want of knowledge." Conſtantine Paleologus, who had ſucceeded John II. was ſlain in the thickeſt of the fight, when the Turks ſtormed the place. Under the reign of a Conſtantine, Conſtantinople was deſtined to ſubmit to the yoke of the Koran. Rome had been ſubjected to the dominion of the barbarians under an Auguſtus.

Conſtantine Paleologus killed, & the city taken.

Sanguinary as Mahomet was, the manner in which he treated the vanquiſhed did him honour. He left them in poſſeſſion of ſeveral churches, performed in perſon the ceremony of inſtalling a patriarch, reſtrained the fury of his ſoldiers, gave the emperour a magnificent funeral, and rendered Conſtantinople happy and flouriſhing. In a word, whatever reproaches he may deſerve on ſome accounts, we ſee the great man through all his vices.

Mahomet does not act like a barbarian

Succeſs of the Turks in his reign.

Hunniades had the glory of ſaving Belgrade when beſieged by the ſultan*. The knights of Rhodes (now of Malta) defended themſelves in their iſle with equal ſucceſs. But after the death of Scanderbeg, he recovered Albania; made himſelf maſter of Trebizond, where the name of a Greek empire ſtill ſubſiſted; carried his arms as far as Trieſte; threatened Venice, and, in alluſion to the extraordinary ceremony of the doge wedding the Adriatic, ſaid, that *he would ſend him to conſummate his marriage at the bottom of the ſea.* His lieutenants took Otranto, and penetrated into Calabria. Italy and all Europe were ſtruck with conſternation, as in the time of the Arabians.

His death in 1481.

This formidable conqueror died in 1481, at an age when he was yet capable of executing the greateſt enterpriſes, being only fifty one years old. His poſterity are ſtill ſovereigns at Conſtantinople, from whence learning and ſcience are baniſhed. The Greeks were become too contemptible for the Turks, whoſe government and religion were already ſettled, to adopt their laws, cuſtoms, opinions, and purſuits. This conqueſt, like that of the Germans, who deſtroyed the empire of the Weſt, extinguiſhed the feeble light which yet remained.

No European power defended Conſtantinople, and why.

None of the European powers armed in defence of Conſtantinople. Yet they were unqueſtionably more intereſted in its preſervation, than the conqueſt of Jeruſalem; but the weakneſs of the ſtates, their inteſtine quarrels, experience of the many misfortunes produced by thoſe diſtant wars, want of political foreſight and harmony among the princes; perhaps, likewiſe, the embarraſſment of the court of Rome, which had not then the ſame authority as formerly; all together facilitated

* John Capiſtran, a canonized Franciſcan, one of the moſt violent zealots againſt the Huſſites, Jews, and Turks, was preſent at this expedition, as preacher of the cruſade. Hunniades and he, in their accounts of it, make no mention of each other. Whether are we to aſcribe the glory of the ſucceſs to the preacher or the general? The queſtion was not clearly decided at that time; but at preſent it ſeems no longer matter of doubt.

litated the ſucceſs of the Ottoman arms. Mahomet's hopes would probably have been blaſted by numerous armies, under ſuch generals as Scanderbeg and Hunniades. But let us return to the affairs of the Weſt.

CHAP. II.

End of the Reign of Charles VII.—*Louis* XI. *till the Death of the laſt Duke of Burgundy.*

End of the reign of Charles VII.

CHARLES VII. having driven out the Engliſh by the arms of his illuſtrious generals Dunois, Richemont, La Hire, &c. continued, by a prudent government, to cure the dreadful wounds of the ſtate. But the end of his days was embittered by the rebellion of his ſon Louis, a man of dangerous character and a bad heart; who took refuge with the duke of Burgundy, and even gave room for ſuſpicion of a deſign to murder his father. Charles died of grief in 1461.

Reformation of the univerſity.

Under his reign the univerſity of Paris was deprived of ſeveral privileges, becauſe, going out of its ſphere, and intermeddling in political affairs, it diſturbed the government more than it enlightened the ſubjects. But what we ought particularly to obſerve is, the eſtabliſhment of fifteen companies of *ordonnance*, each conſiſting of ſix hundred horſe; beſides a body of four thouſand foot. Theſe were regular troops, always ready to take arms; for whoſe maintenance a perpetual *taille* was eſtabliſhed, which at firſt amounted only to 1,800,000 livres; but we ſhall find it increaſe under every reign. It is eaſy to judge what ſtrength the crown acquired by a ſtanding army, which was the only ſure method for deſtroying the independence of the vaſſals.

Regular troops.

Perpetual taille.

It

James Cœur, a merchant, who became miniſter of the finances, ſhamefully perſecuted.

It ought not to be omitted, that the ſupplies furniſhed to the king by a rich merchant, named James Cœur, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the French arms. His ſervices were rewarded by the adminiſtration of the finances; but this office did not protect him from the injuſtice of the court. His enemies ſucceeded in their ſchemes for his ruin. He was at firſt accuſed of poiſoning Agnes Sorel; a charge ſo abſurd, that it fell to the ground of itſelf. But the crime principally inſiſted on was, his remitting money to the Muſſulmen, with whom he carried on traffic. He juſtified himſelf by alledging the permiſſion of two popes to carry on a trade with them; a defence equally ridiculous with the imputation. Even his enemies were conſtituted his judges, by whom he was condemned to baniſhment, and his goods confiſcated. Whether he had kept his hands entirely clean or not, this injuſtice, under a good prince, is a ſubject which ought to make us lament the manners of that age, and the dangers attendant on high fortune. James Cœur was obliged to depend for ſubſiſtence on the gratitude of a few individuals.

1461. Idea of the reign of Louis XI.

Louis XI. ſon of Charles VI. was crafty, hypocritical, ſuperſtitious, and cruel. He ſtrengthened the royal authority by methods more ſuitable for a tyrant, than worthy of a king. The inſtances of moderation, which we meet with in his reign, cannot wipe out the black crimes with which it is every where ſtained. The great hinges of his politics were to deceive and oppreſs. But he ſometimes felt by experience, that, by cunning and knavery, a man lays himſelf open to the perfidy of others; and that he who makes himſelf odious, becomes unhappy by that very power which he ſo eagerly covets. As he hated the nobility, he employed men of low minds, who rewarded his favours with treachery. Like Tiberius, he was ſuſpicious and ſanguinary; like him, ſtifled every appearance of merit, and deſtroyed men of ſuperiour talents. He had ſlaves inſtead of ſubjects; yet the monarchy is in ſome meaſure indebted to him; for, at leaſt, he reſcued it from the tyranny of the nobles. At

At the beginning of his reign, he fell into the ſnares of the court of Rome. Æneas Sylvius Picolomini, the famous ſecretary of the council of Bâle, where he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to Eugenius IV. having changed ſides in conſideration of ſome benefices (for it was by that method Eugenius gained him over) had received the tiara in 1458, under the name of Pius II. His firſt care then was, to condemn appeals to a general council, *as an execrable abuſe, and unheard of in antiquity.* He attempted entirely to aboliſh the pragmatic ſanction of Charles VII. though founded on thoſe very decrees of Bâle, which he had defended with the utmoſt warmth; and ſucceeded, by giving the king hopes of ſettling René of Anjou on the throne of Naples. However, the pope ſupported Ferdinand of Arragon, natural ſon and ſucceſſor of Alphonſo; upon which Louis, enraged at being made a dupe, and aſhamed of aboliſhing the pragmatic, permitted the parliament to maintain it in a great meaſure; and the magiſtrates avenged his quarrel by ſetting the thunders of Rome at defiance.

Pius II. changes principles on his elevation to the papacy.

The pragmatic ſanction of Charles VII aboliſhed.

That we may not be obliged to return again to Pius II. who complained bitterly, that *the judge of judges, the Roman pontiff, was ſubjected to the judgment of the parliament*, let us here take notice of one of his letters, addreſſed to Mahomet II. the ſubſtance of which is as follows: "If you be deſirous of extending your empire among "the Chriſtians, you ſtand in need only of a ſmall mat- "ter, which is eaſily found, a little water for your bap- "tiſm. We would then give you the title of emperour "of the Greeks and the Eaſt, and implore the aſſiſtance "of your arms againſt the uſurpers of the poſſeſſions of "the Roman church. After the example of our prede- "ceſſors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo, who transferred the "empire of the Greeks to Pepin and Charlemagne, we "would have recourſe to you, nor would we be ungrate- "ful." This letter from a pope to a Turkiſh ſultan is perhaps leſs ſurpriſing than the endeavours of ſome writers to make it a proof of admirable zeal.

Extraordinary letter of the pope to Mahomet II.

As

League of the public good againſt Louis XI.

As Louis XI. was, above all things, deſirous of humbling the nobles, their cabals ſoon produced a rebellion. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, a magnificent and generous prince, who, after his reconciliation with the crown, paid the ranſom of the duke of Orleans, a priſoner in England, and ſacrificed a violent hatred to the glorious pleaſure of conferring a benefit; this prince, I ſay, was too old and too wiſe to kindle a civil war; but his ſon, Charles the Raſh, who bore a perſonal enmity to the king, entered into a league with the duke of Berry, brother of Louis, and the dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne, under pretence of reforming the ſtate, and relieving the people from oppreſſion. Even Dunois, the virtuous Dunois, joined the rebels, ſo intolerable were the unjuſt practices of the government.

The king makes a ſhameful treaty on purpoſe to break it.

The bloody battle of Montlheri, fought in 1465, was indeciſive; yet the artful monarch, with whom it was always a maxim to negotiate in order to deceive, concluded a peace on diſhonourable terms, yielding Normandy to his brother, and diſmembering the domain among the principal chiefs. This league, though it bore the name of the *public good*, ſuffered the public miſeries to continue, and even augmented them; as is conſtantly the caſe, when ambition or reſtleſſneſs covers rebellion under the maſk of patriotiſm.

He is ſuſpected of ſhortening his brother's days.

The views of Louis were ſoon diſcovered. He took Normandy from his brother, giving him, in lieu of it, Guienne for his appanage; but the new duke ſoon died of poiſon, which was given him by a monk, his almoner; and the king was generally ſuſpected of being the inſtigator of the crime. On the other ſide, while he was under hand endeavouring to ſtir up the inhabitants of Liege againſt Charles, who had ſucceeded Philip the Good in the dutchy of Burgundy, he ventured to come to a conference with him at Peronne, doubtleſs with a deſign to draw him into a ſnare; but his treachery ſucceeded ill. The people of Liege broke out into rebellion ſooner than he expected, when the duke, tranſport-

He falls into the ſnare which he laid againſt the duke of Burgundy

ed

ed with rage at this inſult, detained him priſoner, and at firſt reſolved to put him to death; but contented himſelf with a humiliating ſatisfaction, and obliged the king to attend him in his expedition againſt the rebels, whoſe city was ſoon reduced to aſhes, and felt all the horrours of the moſt barbarous vengeance.

Ambition and temerity of duke Charles.

Theſe two princes, ſlighting their treaties, were engaged in continual quarrels. The perfidy of the one irritated the impetuous temper of the other. At laſt, Charles fell into the abyſs which his temerity had dug. Maſter of both Burgundies, of Artois, Flanders, and almoſt all Holland, he had purchaſed the domains of a duke of Auſtria in Alſace; yet his ambition was not ſatisfied with ſuch a height of power and immenſe riches. He was ambitious of the title of king, and propoſed to ſubdue Switzerland, and make a conqueſt of Lorraine. In vain did the Swiſs ſend him a deputation, repreſenting the poverty of their country, which, as they expreſſed themſelves, was not worth the bits of his horſes, and the ſpurs of his knights. He entangled himſelf in their defiles, and was defeated in 1476, at Granſon and Morat. The following year he undertook an expedition againſt Nancy, where he was again beaten, and loſt his life in the engagement.

Beaten by the Swiſs, and ſlain in Lorraine.

Simplicity of the Swiſs.

One particular worth mentioning in hiſtory is, that after the battle of Granſon, his ſilver plate was ſold for tin, and his fineſt diamonds, valued at two millions of French livres, paſſed through ſeveral hands for the price of a florin. So great was the ſimplicity of the Swiſs! A people, who had not even an idea of luxury, unqueſtionably deſerved the liberty which they purchaſed with their blood. In proceſs of time, we ſhall find them better acquainted with ſociety and the polite pleaſures of life. Happy, if they always uſe them with prudence, not ſuffering corruption to creep in amongſt them, not envying the opulence of other nations, or loſing thoſe ſentiments of equality which foſter republican virtue! I ſhall ſpeak in another place of the government of the thirteen

thirteen cantons, which was then beginning to be formed.

Burgundy reunited to the crown of France.

Mary, daughter of duke Charles, being his ſole heireſs, the dutchy of Burgundy, as a male fief, reverted to the crown by the law of appanages. Louis might have made an acquiſition of all her other dominions, by a marriage between that princeſs and the dauphin. He actually formed ſuch a deſign; but took his meaſures ſo ill, that he filled Mary with diſtruſt, and made himſelf odious to the Flemings. That ſtubborn and factious people ſeized the reins of government, cauſed the two miniſters of their ſovereign to be executed, and obliged her to marry Maximilian, duke of Auſtria, ſon of the emperour Frederic III. We ſhall find this marriage a continual ſource of wars and public calamities.

The duke's heireſs married to Maximilian.

CHAP. III.

Factions of York and Lancaſter, which deſtroyed the Houſe of the Plantagenets.—Treaty of Pecquigni.

The duke of York rebels againſt Henry VI.

THE factions of York and Lancaſter, the firſt diſtinguiſhed by the *white roſe*, the ſecond by the *red roſe*, had long contended with the moſt violent animoſity in England, where the turbulent and fierce ſpirit of the nation gave a looſe to all the rage of civil diſcords. We have ſeen the houſe of Mortimer robbed of the crown by the duke of Lancaſter, who reigned under the name of Henry IV. Richard, duke of York, heir of that family, attempted to realize his rights againſt the weak Henry VI. and, raiſing a rebellion in 1455, took the king priſoner at the battle of St. Albans; but, being

ing naturally moderate and irreſolute, left the title of king to Henry, contenting himſelf with that of protector.

The royal authority was again eſtabliſhed by Margaret of Anjou, a woman comparable to the heroes of chivalry; but this revolution was of no long ſtanding. In 1460, ſhe loſt the battle of Northampton againſt the famous earl of Warwick, when Henry was again taken priſoner. His wife delivered him a third time by gaining two victories, in one of which the duke of York was ſlain; but his ſon Edward, a young prince, equally brave and ambitious, ſupported his father's pretenſions with more ſucceſs. In 1461, he was proclaimed at London, and immediately after gained over Margaret the bloody battle of Taunton, where thirty ſix thouſand men were ſlain on both ſides. The parliament then acknowledged the right of the ſtrongeſt, notwithſtanding the prior acts paſſed in three reigns, confirming the title of the Lancaſtrian family. Thus every thing, even laws and principles, depends upon the caprices of fortune!

Heroic courage of queen Margaret of Anjou.

1461. Henry dethroned by Edward IV.

The intrepid Margaret, having received ſome ſuccours from Louis XI. and from Scotland, returned to attack the uſurper; but was again beaten at Hexham, in 1464. In her flight through the woods ſhe met a robber, who ruſhed upon her ſword in hand—*Come forward, my friend*, ſaid ſhe to him; *I commit to your care the ſon of your king*. The robber, ſtruck with veneration, ſecured her eſcape. She ſoon after took refuge in France, and the unfortunate Henry remained a cloſe priſoner in the tower of London.

Margaret again vanquiſhed, and a fugitive.

Edward IV. confirmed with blood a throne which he had purchaſed by ſo many maſſacres; but the more cruelty he excited, the more he expoſed himſelf to revolutions. The face of affairs was changed by a fault, into which he was drawn by love. While Warwick, to whom he was principally indebted for the crown, was negotiating for him a marriage with Bona of Savoy, ſiſter

Edward draws on himſelf the hatred of the earl of Warwick.

sister to the queen of France, he privately married Elizabeth Woodville, widow of a private gentleman, with whom he was desperately in love, and whom he had in vain attempted to seduce. On this news, Warwick was filled with indignation, returned to England, formed cabals, drew over the malecontents to his party, and even the duke of Clarence, the king's brother; after which, he reconciled himself to Margaret, his mortal enemy, undertaking to restore the king whom he had dethroned, and to dethrone him whom he had set up.

Cabals of that nobleman.

It is scarce possible to conceive the rapidity of the execution. He landed, and more than sixty thousand Englishmen flocked to his standard. Edward fled, after a battle, in the night, and lost the kingdom in eleven days. Henry VI. was taken out of his prison, and again acknowledged; and the parliament repealed the acts, by which so many other acts had been repealed.

Henry VI. restored.

Seven months after happened a new revolution. Edward IV. having obtained some slight succours from the duke of Burgundy, landed on the coast of England with two thousand men, in order, as he said, to recover only his dutchy of York. His partisans hastened to join him. Warwick fought a battle at Barnet, without waiting for queen Margaret, where he was defeated and slain. The heroine fought in her turn at Tewkesbury; but lost the battle and her liberty. The prince of Wales, her son, who was likewise a prisoner, speaking haughtily to the conqueror, received a blow from him, and was immediately murdered by the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence; the latter of whom had betrayed Warwick, and joined the king, his brother. The death of Henry VI. who was assassinated a few days afterwards, makes the last act of this horrid tragedy.

A new sudden revolution.

1471. Murders of the princes.

The atrocity of Edward's character did not prevent his indulging in pleasures. These were even his ruling passion; but the national hatred against the French name, inflamed by the intrigues of Charles the Rash, who was still alive, rousing him from the bosom of voluptuousness,

Edward IV. attacks France.

voluptuouſneſs, he ſummoned Louis XI. to reſtore Normandy and Guienne, and advanced at the head of an army to obtain by force what he could not gain by fair means.

Had not the impetuous Burgundian raſhly attacked Lorraine, without waiting for the Engliſh, France would have been in the moſt imminent danger. Louis carefully avoided a war: his favourite weapons were ſubtilty and money. Not being very delicate on the point of honour, provided he could remove the danger, he entered into a negotiation, bribed the Engliſh miniſters, and, by the treaty of Pecquigni in 1475, purchaſed a diſgraceful truce for ſeven years, by a penſion or annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns of gold. The only honourable article in the treaty was the deliverance of Margaret of Anjou, whoſe ranſom was paid by the king, and that heroine returned to end her days in her native country.

Louis XI. purchaſes a peace.

Treaty of Pecquigni

As the order of ideas is of more importance than that of dates, let us rapidly purſue the tragical hiſtory of the two *roſes* to its concluſion. Edward IV. equally cruel and voluptuous, ſtained with the blood of the royal houſe of Lancaſter, likewiſe ſhed that of his brother the duke of Clarence, to whom he was in part indebted for the laſt revolution. In order to gratify his hatred and ſuſpicion, he cauſed the duke to be arreſted, and tried by the parliament, which was then the ſlave of the court. He was condemned, though convicted of no capital offence, and only allowed to chooſe the manner of his death; upon which the whimſical prince was, agreeably to his requeſt, drowned in a ton of Malmſey.

Edward puts his brother to death.

Edward dying in 1482, while he was preparing to renew the war againſt France, the duke of Glouceſter, his other brother, a monſter of wickedneſs, who was regent of the kingdom during the minority of Edward V. eldeſt ſon of the late king, formed a deſign to uſurp the crown of England. At firſt view, this project muſt appear entirely chimerical; for Edward had not only left two ſons, but there were ſurviving children of the duke

Bloody uſurpation of the duke of Glouceſter (Richard III.) after the death of Edward IV.

duke of Clarence, an elder brother of Glouceſter. But this conſideration did not deter him. By a murder, he rid himſelf of lord Haſtings, the great chamberlain, who was a zealous loyaliſt. He had the effrontery to publiſh a report, that the late king and the duke of Clarence were baſtards; thus defaming his own mother, who was ſtill alive. He gave himſelf out for the only lawful heir, and was proclaimed by a few wretches, whoſe purchaſed acclamations he made to paſs for the voice of the people; cauſed young Edward, and his brother the duke of York, to be murdered in the tower; and ſo early as 1483, had got poſſeſſion of the throne; after which the parliament was compelled to acknowledge him under the name of Richard III.

Richard dethroned by the earl of Richmond (Henry VII.)

So many atrocious deeds were only calculated to rouſe the vengeance of a brave nation. The Lancaſtrian party reſumed courage, and caſt their eyes on Henry, earl of Richmond, grandſon of that Owen Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V. He was heir to the houſe of Lancaſter, but by the female line, and even by a legitimated branch, which the very act of legitimation excluded from the crown. Richmond, being proſcribed, had found an aſylum in Bretagne; but the hatred of tyranny was alone ſufficient to ſet him on the throne. We here have an example of thoſe ſudden revolutions ſo common in the hiſtory of England. In 1485, the earl arrived on the coaſt of Wales, with about two thouſand men furniſhed by France, and in a little time found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, with which he attacked Richard at Boſworth; who, being deſerted by one of his generals, loſt the battle, and was ſlain fighting with great courage.

Houſe of Plantagenet extinguiſhed in blood.

Thus, after a civil war of thirty years, after twelve pitched battles, and numberleſs acts of barbarity, the houſe of Anjou Plantagenet, which had reigned three hundred and thirty years, periſhed in torrents of blood. Thus relations and brothers, giving way to inveterate

rage,

rage, were mutually the deſtroyers of each other, while they tore the bowels of their native country. If ambition is not deterred by thoſe horrid events, let the people at leaſt dread being the inſtruments of her madneſs, in order to become, ſooner or later, her victims!

Henry VII. ſtrengthens his title by a bull from the pope.

Richmond, who mounted the throne under the name of Henry VII. had recourſe to the expedient of procuring a bull from the pope, in confirmation of his rights; which is a proof that he thought them weak and uncertain, though the parliament had declared, that the right of ſucceſſion was veſted in his perſon. In compliance with the wiſhes of the nation, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and thus united the titles of York and Lancaſter. This monarch enjoyed almoſt perpetual tranquillity during a reign of twenty four years; in the courſe of which we ſhall find him humble the great lords, extend the prerogatives of the crown, and govern England nearly in the ſame manner as Louis XI. governed France, with leſs rigour, but the ſame intereſted and political views.

Idea of his reign.

The royal authority ought to be increaſed.

That the kings, in this period, generally aimed at extending their authority, might be owing to their paſſions; yet this ſeemed neceſſary for the public good, as no other method was left to eſtabliſh order, and enforce obedience to the laws. For ſeveral centuries, hiſtory only preſents us with the ſpectacle of vaſt monarchies a perpetual prey to diſcord, not from a zeal for political liberty, but the factions of the nobles, always eager to make encroachments. How could ſuch diſorders be repreſſed, if the royal authority continued without power?

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Particulars of the Reign of Louis XI.

Cruelties of Louis XI. to the great men.

LOUIS died in 1483. Let us here collect in one view ſome intereſting particulars of his reign, of which we could not take notice elſewhere. If, according to the expreſſion of Francis I. Louis XI. *enfranchiſed the kings*; if he made the great bow to the yoke, he accompliſhed it by acts of injuſtice and cruelty. The moſt illuſtrious men loſt their heads on a ſcaffold; in which number were the conſtable de St. Paul, his brother in law the count d'Armagnac, the dukes d'Alençon and Nemours; and the infant children of the laſt were, by the king's order, ſprinkled with the blood of their father. Theſe executions were poſſibly the puniſhment of treaſon; but tyranny, rather than equity, commonly preſided on the ſeat of judgment. Suſpicions were frequently ſubſtituted for proofs, and were multiplied in proportion to the hatred entertained againſt the gloomy monarch. Triſtan the hermit, a ſanguinary *prevôt*, his friend and the miniſter of his vengeance, is celebrated among the inventors of tortures. What a friend for a king!

All the great fiefs, except Bretagne and Flanders, re-united to the crown.

Had it not been for the military force eſtabliſhed in the laſt reign, and the care which Louis XI. took to avoid a war, even at the expenſe of his honour, ſuch a government would have met with violent ſhocks. But circumſtances were favourable to him. Of the ancient great vaſſals there remained only the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy; and the death of the latter, without iſſue male, augmented the power of the crown, which would have made immenſe acquiſitions, had the dauphin married his daughter. Beſides, Provence was bequeathed to it by the count de la Marche, nephew and heir of René of Anjou.

After

After the nobles had ruined their fortunes by the cruſades; the people had freed themſelves from ſlavery; the appeal to the king's courts was firmly eſtabliſhed; the parliaments were compoſed of lawyers, and acted upon fixed principles; after the kings iſſued ordinances in quality of legiſlators, and recovered the principal rights of ſovereignty, the feudal anarchy daily fell to ruin.

Why the feudal anarchy every day declined.

The ſtates aſſembled in 1468, made a regulation extremely well calculated for the prevention of thoſe diſorders, which had ſo often occaſioned the diſmemberment of the monarchy. They declared that Normandy could not be detached from the crown; and that the king, as to what concerned his brother, might act conformably to a declaration of Charles V. with regard to the appanage of the children of France; which had been fixed at twelve thouſand livres a year, in lands erected into a dutchy or county. Theſe twelve thouſand livres would at preſent make about 124,000.

Regulation with regard to appanages

Louis XI. was a monarch of a vicious and inconſiſtent character; abſolute without dignity, popular without mildneſs; ſyſtematically unjuſt, and yet zealous for the adminiſtration of juſtice; unprincipled and perfidious, while he made an open profeſſion of ſubtilty; he violated the firſt duties of morality, and gave himſelf up to the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions; decorated himſelf with the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, and rendered religion contemptible or odious; tyranniſed over his ſubjects, while he trembled, like a ſlave, before his phyſician; and debaſed, though notwithſtanding he ſtrengthened, the royal authority; which he effected by a dexterous uſe of that powerful engine, money. He augmented the *taille* three millions. If we believe him, he took the people's money only to ſpare their blood; as if it had not been poſſible to be ſparing of both. Yet he had at leaſt the prudence to deſpiſe that fatal ambition, which delights more in extending than ſecuring dominion; and this was really ſparing the people.

Contradictions in the character of Louis XI.

Money his great inſtrument.

He refuſed the ſovereignty of Genoa, which had often voluntarily ſubmitted to other powers, & rebelled.

The republic of Genoa, being ill governed, becauſe the great oppreſſed the multitude, had often ſought a maſter, but was equally incapable of obedience, and preſerving her independence. That ſtate had ſubmitted to Charles VI. and revolted againſt him; ſhe had ſucceſſively put herſelf under the dominion of the marquis of Montferrat, the duke of Milan, and Charles VII. and had rebelled againſt them all. She now made an offer of the ſovereignty to Louis XI. who replied—*I give you to the devil.* He inherited the rights of the houſe of Anjou to the throne of Naples, but took care not to turn his views towards that quarter. His ſon, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, was leſs prudent, and drew upon himſelf a number of misfortunes.

He did not think of Naples.

Poſts eſtabliſhed

Louis XI. eſtabliſhed poſts, which were at firſt deſtined ſolely for carrying the diſpatches of government and thoſe of the pope; the univerſity of Paris had ſet him the example by the couriers they kept. He inſtituted the order of St. Michael, which, with that of the golden fleece, founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, greatly contributed to the fall of the ancient chivalry. He encouraged the French to cultivate trade, which, from want of ſkill, they abandoned to foreigners. He purpoſed to publiſh a code for the adminiſtration of juſtice. But what can we think of a prince, who choſe ſuch men for his miniſters, as cardinal Balue and Olivier le Daim? The firſt, whom he had raiſed from the dunghill, a mean-ſpirited and unprincipled wretch, villainouſly betrayed him. The ſecond, who became a great lord, after having been his barber, was hanged for an infamous crime, in the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII.

Order of St. Michael.

Commerce.

Unworthy miniſters of that king.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Tempeſtuous Government of Florence, till Laurence de Medicis incluſively.

ITALY will now attract our attention; where we ſhall ſee the French come in ſearch of conqueſts, and find only graves. But before we give the hiſtory of their wars for the kingdom of Naples, let us caſt our eyes on Florence, and view the glorious epocha of the Medicis.

After the Italian cities had ſhaken off the German yoke, the ſpirit of liberty principally diſplayed itſelf at Florence. Its citizens, whoſe activity and genius merit high commendations, would have founded a powerful and laſting republic, could they have extinguiſhed the flames of faction. Unhappily, that ſimplicity, which ought to be the baſis of a republican government; that equality, ſo neceſſary to keep all the ſubjects in obedience to the laws; that love of the public weal, to which every thing ought to give place, could not be revived, except by prodigies of legiſlation, no example of which is to be found in modern Italy.

Florence takes bad meaſures for founding a republic.

After the death of Frederic the Second, a coalition of the Guelph and Gibeline factions ſeemed to be formed at Florence. The government was entruſted to twelve annual magiſtrates; and two foreign judges were elected for the trial of cauſes; ſo apprehenſive was this people leſt citizens ſhould give umbrage to each other. Theſe beginnings were ſo ſucceſsful, that, in ten years, Florence had drawn into her alliance Piſtoia, Sienna, and Arezzo; ſubjected Volaterra, and governed in Tuſcany with uncontrouled dominion.

Happy government, but of ſhort continuance, after the death of Frederic II.

The factions ſoon reviving, the Guelphs drove out the Gibelines, who, in their turn, expelled the Guelphs. For a long time we meet with nothing but a continued ſe-

Factions and revolutions.

ries of diſturbances, changes, and acts of violence. The nobles, the *cittadini* or burghers, and the lower people, again formed ſo many irreconcilable parties.

The nobility excluded from the government.

In 1282, all the nobility were excluded from the government, which was put into the hands of merchants and tradeſmen, with the title of *lords*. Afterwards a gonfalonnier *(ſtandard-bearer)* was created from the body of the people, who, having the command of a body of troops, was to be ready to aſſiſt the *lords*. New diſorders were produced by the new adminiſtration. In order to keep the nobles in their duty, a method was contrived, entirely calculated to irritate them. As witneſſes durſt not depoſe againſt them, the magiſtrates were authorized to paſs ſentence on public report. It was not perceived, that an arbitrary method of adminiſtering juſtice, would neceſſarily increaſe licentiouſneſs.

Gonfalonnier.

Juſtice arbitrarily adminiſtered.

Inteſtine quarrels among the Florentines.

The nobles gained ground, but ſplit into two factions, the *white* and the *black*, armed againſt each other, to tear their country in pieces; and theſe diviſions ſtill increaſed the general weakneſs. The cities of Tuſcany withdrew their obedience. Craſtruccio Caſtracani, maſter of Lucca and Piſa, filled Florence with terrour. They had put themſelves under the dominion of Robert king of Naples for five years, and became voluntarily ſubject to his ſon Charles. In 1328, they recovered their liberty, again loſt it, and afterwards recovered it.

Notwithſtanding which, they ſupport themſelves.

Notwithſtanding ſo many ſtorms, they ſtill retained a name which impoſed reſpect; for the rebellious cities voluntarily returned to ſubjection, when the Florentines offered to renounce all claim of ſovereignty, and to be content with their alliance. Pope Gregory XI. and the Viſconti were baffled in their attempts to ſubdue them.

Bull publiſhed againſt them by Gregory XI.

The ſtyle uſed by the court of Rome, in ſuch circumſtances, is well known; but we meet here with a remarkable peculiarity. The pope, when he laid the republic under an interdict, condemned the citizens to ſlavery, and granted the property of that excommunicated people to the firſt who ſhould ſeize it.

It

Fruitleſs reformations.

It would be ſuperfluous and tireſome to give a more particular detail of perpetual ſtruggles and unimportant reformations, never of any real utility. Florence had ſcarcely enjoyed a few years repoſe, when the ſtorms again broke out with violence. The Guelphs perſecuted the Gibelines; the people could not bear the nobles; the nobles and *cittadini* caballed to enſlave the people. The republic gave a picture of the Athenian democracy; but no Solon had appeared among them, nor had they yet acquired the gentleneſs of manners which characterized Athens; accordingly their diſſenſions were often bloody.

Prudence and authority of the Medicis.

The Medicis, a family which had enriched itſelf by commerce, by their merit and beneficence at laſt acquired the authority neceſſary for extirpating ſo many abuſes. Silveſter Medici, who enjoyed the dignity of gonfalonnier, about the middle of the fourteenth century, laid the foundations of a reformation, which was at firſt attended with very little ſucceſs. However, the dominion of the people from that period began to decline. Veri Medici appeaſed the troubles, and, though he might have ſeized the government, rather choſe ſtill to act the citizen. John Medici followed his example, roſe to all the dignities without the leaſt tincture of ambition, by his prudence tempered the animoſity of the different parties, and made the republic taſte a felicity which till then it had never known.

Coſmo father of his country.

Coſmo, ſon of John, had the glory of ſurpaſſing his father. His enemies, envious of his merit and reputation, accuſed him before the ſupreme council, and he was baniſhed, as Ariſtides and Camillus had been; but was almoſt immediately recalled, becauſe nothing but diſorder prevailed in his abſence. The title of *father of his country* was the noble reward of his virtues.

The government put into the hands of commiſſioners

No government, faulty in its principle, changeable at the pleaſure of faction, and every inſtant ready to fall to pieces for want of laws and harmony, can be reformed, except by extraordinary methods. The more licentious

liberty

liberty prevails, the more does the republic, though inſenſibly, approach to monarchy. The government of Florence was put into the hands of a commiſſion, which was obliged to be renewed ſix times in the ſpace of twenty one years, till 1455. Coſmo Medici was the head and ſoul of this magiſtracy, and employed his authority only for the promotion of the public good. The commiſſion was at laſt ſuppreſſed by the cabals of ambitious men, who wanted to rule in their turn. Pitti, the gonſalonnier, a man of enterpriſing temper, reſtored it by force, and exerciſed the authority with rigour. Coſmo, enfeebled by old age, rather ſuffered his colleague to act than acted himſelf.

Conſpiracy againſt the Medici.

Peter Medici, who ſucceeded Coſmo in 1464, being almoſt incapable of managing affairs, on account of his ill ſtate of health, the enemies of that powerful and reſpectable family conſpired its deſtruction. Their plot did not ſucceed, and the commiſſion was renewed; but Peter's inactivity occaſioned perpetual cabals. After his death, all the black arts of hatred and envy were employed againſt his ſons Julian and Lorenzo.

1478. Julian Medici aſſaſſinated in a church.

The Pazzi, whoſe family was one of the moſt illuſtrious in Florence, reſolved to aſſaſſinate thoſe two citizens, whom they could not bring down without an act of villainy. Pope Sixtus IV. was not aſhamed to enter into their views; and an archbiſhop of Piſa, named Salviati, was the ſoul of this infamous conſpiracy. An attempt was made, under the maſk of friendſhip, to draw the Medicis to an entertainment where death awaited them. Julian having refuſed the invitation, though he did not entertain the leaſt diſtruſt, the church itſelf was pitched upon for the ſcene of the murder. During the celebration of maſs, at the elevation of the hoſt, which was the ſignal agreed upon, the conſpirators drew their poniards, and ſtabbed the two victims. Julian expired on the ſpot; but Lorenzo defended himſelf, and eſcaped. The people inſtantly avenged their benefactors: the murderers were torn in pieces, and the archbiſhop of Piſa himſelf was hanged.

Lorenzo eſcapes.

It

It would ſeem, that Sixtus ought to have diſſembled and been ſilent, in order to hide his own ſhame; but he let looſe againſt the Florentines all the thunders of the church. They at firſt deſpiſed the interdict, and implored the protection of France. Louis XI. who was ſtill alive, from generoſity, or motives of policy, declared in their favour. He threatened to re-eſtabliſh the pragmatic ſanction, ſent a body of troops, and held out againſt the artifices of the Romiſh court. At laſt, the pope granted what he could no longer refuſe; but the pontifical authority always triumphed by the humiliations it impoſed, on condition of diſarming. The Florentine ambaſſadours were obliged to ſubmit to flagellation when they received abſolution.

Sixtus IV. an accomplice in the conſpiracy, excommunicates Florence.

Louis XI. protects it

Abſolution of the Florentines.

Nothing could be a ſtronger juſtification of the zeal teſtified by the Florentines in favour of the Medicis, than the manner in which Lorenzo governed their republic. A protector of learning and the fine arts, as his grandfather Coſmo had been; liberal, with a judicious magnificence, and leſs ſolicitous of performing brilliant than good actions; at home, a magiſtrate without pomp, continuing the commerce carried on by his anceſtors; he ſurpaſſed all the princes of his time, not only in real merit, but by the influence he had in the affairs of Italy, and the ſucceſs of his prudent policy.

Lorenzo governs like a great man.

To reſtore peace in Italy, which for ſeveral centuries had been a theatre of uſurpations, wars, and tragical revolutions, was a project worthy of a great man, and it was formed by him. The Venetians, preſſed on one ſide by the Turks, on the other fell upon Lombardy. Lodovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, had taken Milan from young John Galeazzo, his nephew, to whom he left only an empty title. Ferdinand, king of the Two Sicilies, natural ſon of Alphonſo, and father in law of John Galeazzo, was more irritated againſt Lodovico, as he himſelf had ſome pretenſions on Milan. Every thing then threatened new wars, and Florence muſt

He propoſes to eſtabliſh peace in Italy.

He ſucceeds.

muſt certainly be the principal ſufferer in the fray; but Lorenzo had dexterity enough to prevent them. He not only effected a reconciliation between Ferdinand and Lodovico, but engaged them in a league with the Florentines for the maintenance of peace. The Venetians ſuſpended their conqueſts. Pope Innocent VIII. in vain attempted to dethrone the king of Naples. Italy had time to breathe, and at laſt enjoyed happineſs; but ſhe loſt Medici too ſoon, who died in 1492, at the age of forty three. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Peter, a man of no merit; and the flames of war ſoon ſpread univerſal devaſtation.

His death in 1492.

CHAP. VI.

Reign of Charles VIII. *in France.—Fruitleſs Conqueſt of Naples.*

Troubles at the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII.

FROM the year 1483, the crown of France had been worn by Charles VIII. a young prince, ill educated, raſh, and incapable of application. He had aſcended the throne at the age of thirteen; and by the laſt will of Louis XI. the kingdom was to be governed during the king's minority by his eldeſt ſiſter, Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. This arrangement gave birth to a civil war. The duke of Orleans, afterwards king Louis XII. claimed the regency, which he attempted to get into his own hands; but, not ſucceeding, rebelled, and entered into a league with the duke of Bretagne and Maximilian of Auſtria; however, he was defeated and taken priſoner at the battle of St. Aubin.

The duke of Orleans rebels, & is taken priſoner.

A ſhort time after died the duke of Bretagne, without iſſue male. Anne his daughter, heireſs of that large province, was already married by proxy to Maximilian, who had buried his firſt wife, the heireſs of Burgundy. In order to reunite that dutchy to the crown, Anne was prevailed on, not without difficulty, to break off a marriage which ſhe deſired, and eſpouſe the king of France, whom ſhe did not love. The duke of Orleans, though he entertained a paſſion for that princeſs, had the generoſity to ſerve Charles VIII. in a matter ſo delicate. This illuſtrious rebel was become a zealous ſubject: the king, by taking him out of priſon, had inſpired him with gratitude, and the duke only thought of cancelling the memory of his revolt by the luſtre of his virtues.

The king marries the heireſs of Bretagne.

Margaret of Auſtria, daughter of the archduke Maximilian, who had been long before betrothed to Charles, and was even educated at the court of France till ſhe ſhould be marriageable, was now to be ſent back; and her father, irritated by this double affront, breathed revenge. He took up arms, as he had often done; but having little power in the Low Countries, and with difficulty procuring a ſmall reinforcement from the emperour Frederic III. he would probably have loſt part of his dominions, had not the minds of the French been faſcinated with the inſenſate deſire of making diſtant conqueſts. Flatterers, who ſtudy the weak ſide of princes, to turn it to their own advantage, excited Charles to ſupport his claim on the kingdom of Naples. Intoxicated with this project, he reſtored to Maximilian, Franche Comté and Artois, which had been ſeized by Louis XI. and in the ſame manner gave back Rouſillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand the Catholic (with whom I ſhall ſoon make the reader acquainted) only requiring of him, in return, to obſerve a neutrality in the Italian war. At laſt he ſet out, almoſt without taking any precautions, on this dangerous expedition, which he looked upon only as a journey for pleaſure.

The archduke Maximilian, being doubly affronted, takes arms.

Inſtead of ſtripping him of his dominions, Charles VIII. attempts the conqueſt of Naples.

Lodovico

1494. Charles at Florence.

Lodovico Sforza and the too celebrated Alexander VI. (Borgia) had invited him themſelves; for, after the death of Lorenzo Medici, the ſyſtem of union and peace no longer ſubſiſted. Truſting to them was not the leaſt imprudence of which Charles VIII. was guilty. Peter Medici raſhly refuſed him a paſſage; but, being ſoon intimidated by the French arms, granted whatever was required of him, and was driven out by the Florentines, who were more firm in their reſolutions. The monarch appeared before their city with all the pomp of a conqueror, and wanted to impoſe on them intolerable conditions; but one of the deputies replied with ſpirit—*Since you make ſuch demands, ſound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells.* This inſtance of firmneſs determined him to content himſelf with concluding an alliance.

Boldneſs of the Florentines.

Charles betrayed by Alexander VI.

The pope had already repented of having brought in the French, and joined Alphonſo II. the king Naples, againſt them; upon which Charles marched immediately to Rome, and entered it at the head of his troops. Alexander, being ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, was obliged to come to a treaty; after which the king kiſſed his feet, ſerved him with water to waſh during the celebration of maſs, and took his ſtation behind the dean of the ſacred college.

Peace concluded between them.

Zizim delivered up and poiſoned.

A circumſtance more remarkable is, that the pope was obliged to put into his hands a Turkiſh prince, named Zizim, ſon of the formidable Mahomet II. Zizim, after an unſucceſsful rebellion againſt his brother Bajazet, had taken refuge among the Chriſtians. Alexander probably deſigned to deliver him up to the ſultan, from whom he was ſoliciting ſuccours, and is ſuſpected of having poiſoned him before he put him into the king's hands. Every ſpecies of ſuſpicion may fall upon this monſter, who was a diſgrace to the tiara and to the church.

1495. Rapid conqueſt

Mean time the Neapolitans ſeemed to invite the conqueror. Alphonſo, who had rendered himſelf odious by

by his tyranny, fled into Sicily, where he concealed himſelf in a monaſtery, and his ſon Ferdinand II. retired to an iſland. Charles had only the trouble of ſhewing himſelf, and in five months after his departure from France was maſter of Naples. Succeſſes ſo rapid, with a ſmall army unprovided with money, can be attributed only to a panic which ſeized the Italians. They were unacquainted with war, though engaged in continual quarrels among themſelves; they had neither regular troops nor large canon; their battles were only a kind of juſts, attended with very little bloodſhed. To repulſe the enemy and keep the field was to them a victory, ſoon decided, while innumerable murders were produced by inteſtine feuds and perſonal revenge. The impetuous valour of the French, therefore, neceſſarily overthrew every thing before it at the firſt ſhock. A fruitleſs advantage, if prudence did not cement a conqueſt more eaſily made than kept; but the French vivacity was not yet tempered with that virtue.

of the kingdom of Naples.

The Italians were unacquainted with war.

Pleaſures, entertainments, extortions, avarice, and licentiouſneſs; no care taken to conciliate the affections of the new ſubjects; no precaution uſed to prevent attacks from other ſtates; ſuch were the methods at firſt uſed by thoſe formidable conquerors to ſecure their dominion. Charles gave himſelf up entirely to amuſements, and abandoned the adminiſtration of affairs to men unworthy of his confidence. His enemies were on the watch, and profited by his miſtakes. The pope Alexander; Maximilian, who had mounted the imperial throne after the death of the weak Frederic, in 1493; Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain; the Venetians, and Lodovico duke of Milan (his nephew, whom he had ſtripped of his dominions, being now dead) formed a league to drive out the French, and reſtore Ferdinand II.

Faults committed by the French.

Charles, without attempting to avert this ſtorm, or taking his meaſures according to the conjunctures, thought only of returning home. He left three or four thouſand

He returns into France.

thouſand men at Naples, and ſet out with the reſt of the army, whoſe numbers were reduced to ſeven or eight thouſand. The confederate army, amounting to thirty thouſand, waited for him in the Parmeſan; but, intimidated by his boldneſs, they deliberated a long time whether they ſhould attack him. At laſt they came to a reſolution, and, giving him battle at Fornuovo, were defeated in leſs than an hour, with the loſs of three thouſand men, while there fell only two hundred of their enemies.

His victory at Fornuovo.

1496. Loſs of the kingdom of Naples.

This victory, ſo glorious to Charles VIII. ſerved only to open him a paſſage. The kingdom of Naples was loſt the year following, 1496; Gonſalvo of Cardova, a celebrated Spaniſh general, finding it an eaſy taſk to drive out a handful of French, who were deteſted in the country. This would have been a real happineſs to France, had that nation learned from this diſaſter to act with diſcretion. The king died young, in 1498. His four children being dead, he was ſucceeded by Louis duke of Orleans. I defer to another epocha the reign of that prince, who, though poſſeſſed of great virtues, was incurably tainted with the fatal ambition of reigning in Italy.

Death of Charles VIII. in 1498.

CHAP. VII.

Of Spain.—Reign of Henry IV. *in Caſtile.—Beginning of the Reign of Ferdinand the Catholic and Iſabella.*

SPAIN, ſo long divided, weak, and in a manner unconnected with the general ſyſtem of Europe, now becomes a conſiderable power, which from this period

period will demand particular attention. In order to discover the origin of its grandeur, we must go back to a reign, of all others the most unfortunate and opprobrious.

Henry IV. surnamed the *Impotent*, notwithstanding his continual debaucheries, ascended the throne of Castile in 1454. He was a descendant of Henry Transtamara; who, as we have seen before, acquired the crown by the murder of his brother. The new court seemed to be characterized by every vice which can degrade human nature. Henry passed his life among a crowd of minions and mistresses; and queen Joanna, sister of the king of Portugal, copying his example, openly kept gallants. As pleasure was their only business, the affairs of the nation necessarily grew worse every day. A ruinous magnificence was looked upon as real grandeur. Louis XI. having been chosen arbiter between the kings of Castile and Arragon, Henry, in an interview with him, being disgusted at the slovenly simplicity which he affected, conceived the utmost contempt for that prince and the French in general. But he was duped in the negotiation, even by those in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. On the discovery of their treachery, he disgraced them, and put in their place Bertrand de la Cueva, whose adulterous correspondence with the queen gave scandal to the whole realm. This choice made the fire of rebellion burst into a flame, which had long lain dormant under the ashes.

Henry IV. (the Impotent) king of Castile.

Debauchery of that court.

Bertrand de la Cueva in favour.

The malecontents, headed by Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, formed and executed projects which seem almost incredible. In 1464 they forced the king to acknowledge his brother Alphonso heir to the crown, in prejudice of Joanna his daughter, to whom they had already sworn allegiance, and sent to Rome to demand a dispensation from that oath which they had violated. The following year, they deposed Henry IV. in effigy, upon a scaffold: a ceremony equally extravagant and unexampled. Both sides ran to arms. The battle of

Revolt against Henry.

He is deposed in effigy.

Olmedo

Battle of Olmedo, where the archbiſhop of Toledo ſignalizes himſelf.

Olmedo was indeciſive; but the king became ſtill more contemptible by his not being preſent. The archbiſhop of Toledo fought with diſtinguiſhed courage, wearing a ſtole over his armour, and, though wounded, was the laſt to quit the field. We ſhall afterwards find ſeveral prelates ſignalize themſelves in war.

Spaniſh heroines.

Spain had likewiſe her heroines: a lady of Villalva, who defended the royal cauſe in Caſtile, and a queen of Arragon, who fought for her huſband againſt John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, proclaimed king at Barcelona.

Henry IV. forced to diſinherit his daughter Joanna.

Alphonſo, who had been crowned by the Caſtilian rebels, died ſuddenly, in 1468, at the age of fifteen; but this accident did not damp their ſpirit: they impoſed conditions on Henry IV. and obliged him to declare his ſiſter Iſabella heireſs of the crown; to diſinherit Joanna his daughter, and ſend her with the queen into Portugal. A legate took part in the treaty. Joanna was ſuppoſed to be a baſtard of Cueva; and this notion, kept up by a furious faction, deprived her of rights, which, at another time, would unqueſtionably have been reſpected.

Iſabella, his ſiſter & heireſs, ſought in marriage.

The hand of Iſabella immediately became an object of intrigue and ambition. The king of Portugal wanted to marry her. Louis XI. demanded her for his brother; and the king of Arragon for his ſon Ferdinand. It was for the advantage of the rebels to prefer the laſt, who was the moſt capable of ſupporting them. Henry's inclinations leaned another way; but he had no power. As the treaty was ſpun out to a great length, a method was hit upon to bring it to a concluſion, which was worthy of all the ſteps already taken.

Manner in which ſhe was married to Ferdinand of Arragon.

Ferdinand came to Valladolid in diſguiſe, where the archbiſhop of Toledo privately performed the ceremony of marriage, and even aſſured them, that he had the pope's diſpenſation, though it did not arrive till three years afterwards. Such a prelate certainly deſerved to be at the head of a conſpiracy.

Henry,

Henry, tranſported with rage at this proceeding, diſinherited his ſiſter, and reſtored his daughter to her rights, whom he offered in marriage to the duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI. and on his refuſal, to the king of Portugal, by whom the propoſal was likewiſe rejected; ſo little was there to be reckoned on the fortune of that princeſs. A civil war was kindled through the whole kingdom, and the names of Joanna and Iſabella roufed all the factious ſpirits to arms. At laſt the king was reconciled to his ſiſter and Ferdinand. Having ſupped with them, he was ſeized, as he roſe from table, with violent pains in his bowels, of which he died in great agonies, the ſame year, 1474, after having again acknowledged Joanna his daughter and heireſs. The queen likewiſe ſwore to her legitimacy; but the people would give them no credit. Nor were the ſuſpicions of poiſoning, though univerſally ſpread, any obſtacle to the fortune of Ferdinand and Iſabella. Both were able politicians; yet, in the eyes of true wiſdom, their reign will not appear to merit all the encomiums laviſhed upon it by hiſtorians. We ought to diſtruſt national prejudices, eſpecially thoſe formed in ignorant ages.

New civil war.

Death of Henry IV. in 1474.

Suſpicions of poiſoning.

The beginning of their reign was tempeſtuous. Ferdinand, who enjoyed only the empty title of king, while the whole authority remained in the hands of the queen, was on the point of retiring into Arragon. But Iſabella retained him by the arts of flattery, calling him her maſter and lord, but ſtill acting as miſtreſs of the kingdom. The archbiſhop of Toledo, jealous of the confidence ſhe repoſed in the cardinal Mendoza, gave way to his reſentment:—*I ſhall find means*, ſaid he, *to make Iſabella again take up the diſtaff, which I have made her quit*. He retired, and formed cabals. Alphonſo V. king of Portugal, having at laſt determined to marry the princeſs Joanna, daughter of Henry IV. ſhe was proclaimed queen of Caſtile at Placentia. But after a war of ſome years continuance, Alphonſo renounced the

Ferdinand at firſt diſcontented in Caſtile.

Iſabella retains him there.

War with Portugal of no long duration.

the marriage and his pretenſions, in 1479, upon which Joanna entered into a monaſtery. The archbiſhop of Toledo had likewiſe been obliged, by the ſeizure of his temporalities, to bend his haughty ſpirit to the yoke of obedience.

Meaſures taken for repreſſing public diſorders.

A wiſe and vigorous government was neceſſay for repreſſing the public diſorders, which were carried to the utmoſt extremity. The whole country ſwarmed with robbers. The nobility favoured or committed depredations; and their caſtles might be looked upon as ſo many fortreſſes, poſſeſſed by enemies in the heart of the kingdom. In a word, all the abuſes of the feudal government were maintained by violence and licentiouſneſs. Theſe it was reſolved to deſtroy; and an aſſociation was formed, under the name of the *Sancta Hermandad* [holy brotherhood], to check murders, thefts, and violences of every kind; to which a revenue, with a certain number of troops, was aſſigned. This eſtabliſhment, as well as others of the like nature, met with great oppoſition from the grandees, who made advantage of theſe crimes, as we have ſeen was the caſe in the reſt of Europe.

The *Sancta Hermandad.*

Vigorous government.

The principal aim of Ferdinand and Iſabella was, to eradicate crimes by terrour; to raze the fortreſſes of the nobility who infeſted the country; to revoke the grants which exhauſted the treaſury; to free the people from the tyranny of the nobles, and ſubject them entirely to the royal authority. But in the midſt of theſe uſeful cares, we find them every where eſtabliſhing, with fiery zeal, thoſe privileges of the inquiſition, which are moſt oppoſite to the laws of humanity and the beneficent rules of the goſpel.

Torquemada and Mendoza render the inquiſition atrociouſly inhuman.

Torquemada, a Dominican of a violent and cruel diſpoſition, had obliged the queen to ſwear, before ſhe was acknowledged, that, if ſhe came to the crown, ſhe would employ her utmoſt power for the extermination of impiety, of Jews, Muſſulmen, heretics, and magicians. Cardinal Mendoza, inflamed by the Dominican, enforced

enforced the obſervation of this oath. The inquiſition was eſtabliſhed with rigours juridically tyrannical, and a barbarity, of which there had been hitherto no example. Torquemada, being promoted to the office of grand inquiſitor, in four years cauſed ſix thouſand perſons to be burnt alive; and more than a hundred thouſand felt the effects of his perſecuting zeal. A gloomy terrour, a frantic fanaticiſm, reigned in every family; the infamous trade of information was changed into a virtue; the leaſt ſuſpicions, ſlight imprudences, imaginary or ſuppoſitious faults, were ſufficient grounds for perſecuting, blackening, and driving to deſpair, a number of innocent perſons.

Odious procedures of that tribunal; from which there lay no appeal.

The fortunes, honour and lives of individuals were diſpoſed of by the moſt iniquitous procedures. The accuſed never was confronted with his accuſer, nor even knew who he was. He was obliged to gueſs at his crime. Entangled in the ſnares of captious interrogatories, he often acknowledged himſelf guilty, without knowing of what. The teſtimony of the neareſt relations, of women of infamous character, was admitted, as if the want of others had been dreaded. And though, by law, falſe accuſers were to bear the puniſhment of retaliation; though fictitious charges were neceſſarily multiplied by perſonal enmities and ſuperſtitious follies; there was no example of a calumniator being puniſhed by the holy office. There was no reſource againſt the ſentence of that tribunal; no appeal to the ſovereign, the protector of his ſubjects.

Its *familiars*.

An infinite number of *familiars* were employed, who enjoyed great privileges; and immenſe ſums were expended to enſure the miſery of Spain, rather than the triumph of the faith. Thoſe dreadful executions, where piles of victims were ſacrificed, thoſe *auto da fe* [acts of faith] a bare recital of which makes human nature ſhudder, were made acts of religion, and ſpectacles at which even kings aſſiſted with zeal. If, with ſeveral authors, we think that Spain and Portugal had reaſon

Auto da fe.

Reflections on theſe rigours.

reaſon to congratulate themſelves on having, by ſuch methods, baniſhed Mahometiſm, Judaiſm, or hereſy; it muſt then be neceſſary to degrade reaſon to a level with brutal inſtinct, and tyranniſe over mankind; the world muſt be laid waſte with fire and ſword, to make Chriſtians and Catholics! Is it thus that the faith was eſtabliſhed? Happily for the people, and, I dare venture to ſay it, happily for religion, the Spaniſh government, which becomes daily more enlightened and humane, has greatly mitigated thoſe rigours, which originated from the prejudices of the age. Hiſtory will inform us what deep wounds it has given the ſtate.

The kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily devolve by inheritance on Ferdinand. His deſigns on Navarre.

In 1479, Ferdinand found himſelf maſter of Arragon and Sicily, by the death of his father, John II. and Phebus de Foix, king of Navarre, dying four years after, he demanded Catharine, ſiſter and heireſs of the deceaſed monarch, in marriage for his ſon; at the ſame time ſeizing Pampeluna, in order to give more ſtrength to his negotiation. We ſhall afterwards ſee him maſter of that kingdom. The power of Ferdinand and Iſabella was every moment increaſed by a crooked policy ſupported by arms.

CHAP. VIII.

Conqueſt of the Kingdom of Grenada.—Expulſion of the Jews from Spain.

The Moors of Grenada divided among themſelves.

THE kingdom of Grenada, which was all that remained of the Mahometan dominions in Spain, attracted the attention of ambitious princes, who ſeemed invited to ſeize it, by motives of zeal as well as intereſt.

reſt. It is ſurpriſing that the Moors had not taken advantage of the diſturbances in Caſtile, during the late reign, and that they had even ſubmitted to pay a tribute. But their ſtrength every day declined, from their mutual diviſions; and their diſſenſions, which at laſt increaſed to madneſs, in the end brought about their total ruin, as has been the fate of ſo many famous empires. Albohacen, king of Grenada, was obliged to arm againſt one of his ſons, and he was obliged to do the like againſt one of his uncles. The flame of civil war raged univerſally, when Ferdinand and Iſabella turned their arms againſt that tottering ſtate, which, from the favours beſtowed on it by nature, ought to have been the centre of happineſs.

Ferdinand and Iſabella attack that kingdom with ſucceſs.

After having demanded of pope Sixtus IV. a bull for a cruſade, and permiſſion to levy a ſubſidy on the clergy (for theſe methods were ſtill neceſſary to ſecond the views of politics) Ferdinand put himſelf at the head of his army in 1483. He carried on the war with continued and rapid ſucceſs, and Iſabella accompanied him in ſeveral expeditions. Both of them were in danger of loſing their lives at the ſiege of Malaga, an important town, which was defended with courage, and taken in 1487. In 1489 they ſtormed Baza, which coſt them twenty thouſand men. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up by a Muſſulman prince, a competitor for the crown; who was baſe and blind enough to endeavour, at that price, to turn their arms againſt his rival. At laſt, Iſabella and Ferdinand laid ſiege to Grenada in 1491. Their camp, which was two leagues diſtant from the city, being deſtroyed by a dreadful conflagration; in order to ſecure themſelves from the like diſaſter, they cauſed a town, proof againſt fire, to be erected on the ſpot; and that work was finiſhed in three months. This town ſtill ſubſiſts, under the name of *Santa Fe*. The beſiegers enjoyed plenty of every thing, while the beſieged ſuffered all the ſeverities of famine, and the place was reduced to the laſt extremity.

1491. Siege of Grenada.

The Mooriſh king baſely capitulates.

An enthuſiaſtic Muſſulman, by his eloquence, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants; and twenty thouſand men, inflamed by his diſcourſes, offered to follow wherever he led them, in defiance of every danger. Reaſon would ſeem to have urged taking advantage of their deſperate reſolution; but on the contrary, Abo Abdeli, who had dethroned his father Albohacen, dreading the conſequences of this ferment, haſtily capitulated. He obtained for himſelf ſome fortreſſes and lands in the Alpujarras, a range of mountains remarkable for the fertility of their ſoil; and ſecured to the inhabitants their property, laws, and religion. After concluding the treaty, he ſet out loaded with imprecations by the people; and, caſting a parting look on the beautiful capital which he abandoned, uttered a profound ſigh.—*You have reaſon*, ſaid his mother, *to weep like a woman, when you could not defend ſuch a fine city with the courage of a man.* Thus ended the empire of the Arabians in Spain, about eight hundred years after its foundation.

Reproaches made to him by his mother.

1492. Expulſion of the Jews, in order to ſeize their property.

The greater was the importance and glory of this conqueſt, the greater muſt be our aſtoniſhment at that equally fatal and unjuſt policy, by which the Jews were immediately after expelled the kingdom. That people made amends, by their induſtry, for the hatred and contempt with which they were treated by the Chriſtians. They found in their riches a compenſation for their honour; and being the ſole traders, to which they joined the lending of money at high intereſt, they had got almoſt the whole ſpecie of the nation into their hands. The nobles, whoſe fortunes were ruined, intermarried with them, as well as with the Mahometans, but yet were no leſs their enemies; and the popular rage was inflamed by abſurd imputations, ſuch as have always been alledged by religious hatred. The government ſuffered itſelf to be miſled by a blind zeal, or a miſtaken proſpect of intereſt, and the Jews were ordered to leave the kingdom. Six months were allowed them for

for the diſpoſal of their property; but they were prohibited, under pain of death, from carrying with them ſilver, gold, and jewels; that is, they were baniſhed in order to ſtrip them of their wealth.

In conſequence of this ordinance, Spain loſt upwards of thirty thouſand families, which, at the loweſt computation, amount to 150,000 ſouls; and with them fled induſtry, arts, and commerce. This act of injuſtice was attended with the ſame effects as the debaſing of the coin, which ruins princes, while it procures them a momentary reſource. The ſpoils of the Jews were looked upon as a great acquiſition; yet the nation ſunk at once into wretched poverty. There was no fund to ſupply the high contributions which they had paid; and they no longer could find neceſſaries which had been furniſhed by laborious hands. Was there no method, then, for checking the uſury of the Jews, without depriving themſelves of trade? If they were reſolved to commit an act of injuſtice, ought they not, at leaſt, to have taken meaſures for preventing its ill effects?—But, being an act of injuſtice, it muſt, notwithſtanding every precaution, have been productive of its neceſſary effect; of more miſchief than good, as has been the caſe with all the violences exerciſed under pretence of religion.

The ſtate ruined by this act of violence.

By the expulſion of the Jews from Spain, Portugal gained about fourſcore thouſand ſubjects. Fifteen thouſand of them retired into Africa, where they met with more cruel treatment than in Spain. The Moors are ſaid to have ripped open their bellies, in order to ſearch their bowels for the gold which they had ſwallowed. Some thouſands of them returned, and pretended to embrace Chriſtianity. It was principally on them that the inquiſition laid its bloody hands. That tribunal may be looked upon as a ſcourge contrived by the enemies of Spain to depopulate the kingdom.

What became of the Jews.

We may venture to join to theſe public calamities the diſcovery of the new world, which was made the

ſame

ſame year that the Jews were expelled. But this I refer to the following epocha, where the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella will continue to offer memorable incidents to our conſideration. We have here ſome obſervations to make on a matter more intereſting to the human mind.

CHAP. IX.

General Observations.

General revolution which began in the fifteenth century.

IN the fifteenth century, every thing changed, or prepared for a change; becauſe mankind, then awakened from a long lethargy, exerciſed their mental faculties, and new inventions opened a new field of ſpeculation. We ſhall ſee that the compaſs, which was accidentally diſcovered long before, and which, for many years, continued to be a mere matter of curioſity, becauſe no attempt was made to apply it to any uſeful purpoſe, has alone been the cauſe of a moſt amazing revolution.

Change in the military art.

The invention of gunpowder introduced a change into the military art; and that change became neceſſarily more conſiderable, in proportion to the improvement made on this fatal diſcovery. The cavalry were no longer ſo formidable in armies, and conſequently the

Decay of chivalry.

knights were leſs diſtinguiſhed in the ſtate. The ancient chivalry likewiſe ſuffered greatly by the eſtabliſhment of the orders of the Garter, the Golden Fleece, St. Michael, &c. Theſe decorations were more flattering to vanity, and attached the nobles more cloſely to the courts of princes, who uſed every method for recovering or increaſing their authority. The

Politics more cultivated, but with pernicious refinements.

The ſcience of politics made viſible progreſs, eſpecially in France, after the ſtudy of juriſprudence grew into eſteem. The civilians and parliaments, though ſtill tinctured with erroneous opinions, had introduced the principles moſt favourable to monarchy. By their negotiations or ſtruggles with the court of Rome, men had been accuſtomed to the management of intricate affairs. Perhaps they had imbibed from this ſource thoſe refinements of ſubtilty, which were ſoon formed into a ſyſtem. We ſee the powers of Europe turn their views to every quarter, forming leagues and alliances; but we ſee perfidy introduced into the moſt important affairs. Louis XI. and Ferdinand the Catholic gloried in the ſucceſsful practice of deceit. The infection became general. To diſhonour the throne, and diſgrace the altar, by the frauds of impoſture, was made a matter of ſport. Treaties and oaths, which of all things ought to be the moſt inviolable, were converted into ſnares, to entrap enemies, under the diſguiſe of friendſhip; without conſidering that this was the method to raiſe numberleſs enemies, and to make friends treacherous. Knavery may have momentary ſucceſs; but its conſequences are always dangerous, as is proved by a thouſand inſtances down to the preſent times.

Crimes multiplied, and why.

Infamous crimes, aſſaſſinations and poiſonings prevailed at this time more than ever. They were thought to be the growth of Italy, where the rage and weakneſs of the oppoſite factions made them very common. The Italian policy, which was undoubtedly infected with all the vices of the lower empire, ſpread contagion through all the courts of Europe, both by precept and example. Morality gradually diſappeared, and, with it, all ſecurity in the intercourſes of life. The firſt principles of duty were obliterated by the joint influence of irreligion and ſuperſtition. Why did the paſſage from barbariſm to the cultivation of genius, in ſeveral reſpects, only ſubſtitute, inſtead of brutal vices, others more refined and pernicious? The reaſon was, that men's

men's minds were not guided by ſound reaſon; that, while they were ſubtilized, they followed the bent of their paſſions; and, in the laſt place, becauſe the public manners are formed by the courts, where all things are commonly made ſubſervient to fortune.

Printing very uſeful, notwithſtanding its abuſes.

Printing, which was invented at Straſburg, in 1440, by John Guttemburg, and brought to perfection at Mentz by John Fuſt and Peter Schæffer, naturally ſerved equally for a vehicle of truth and errour. But, whatever abuſe may have been made of it, we muſt reckon it among the moſt beneficial arts; for ignorance, of itſelf, multiplies errours, whereas truths muſt make their way through an infinite number of obſtacles. If, even with the aſſiſtance of books, its progreſs be ſlow and uncertain, what would it be without ſo powerful an aid, amidſt the darkneſs of ignorance! One of the principal abuſes of printing has been its furniſhing food for the fanaticiſm of ſectaries; but fanaticiſm was too plentifully ſupplied with aliment before this art ſubſiſted. On the other hand, by it alone the principles of reaſon and morality have been gradually communicated, which will at laſt put an end to the madneſs of the ſects. What an advantage to the cauſe of humanity!

This admirable invention was calumniated.

A burgher of Haerlem, named Kuſter, had already printed, by engraving entire pages on wood, as was practiſed by the Chineſe for many centuries. This method is, to the movable caſt types, nearly what hieroglyphics are to the letters of the alphabet. The invention of printing appeared ſo extraordinary, that the firſt who brought ſpecimens of it to Paris were looked upon as magicians. At that time, every man was a magician who did any thing that ſurpriſed the vulgar. Even the parliament ſuffered itſelf to be prejudiced at firſt; every uſeful novelty appeared a monſter in the eyes of prejudice.

The revival of learning falſely

If the revival of learning muſt be attributed to any foreign cauſe, it ſhould rather be to printing, than to the Greeks who fled from Conſtantinople. Some learned

learned men, who had taken refuge in other countries, and were loaded with favours, eſpecially by Coſmo and Lorenzo Medici, taught the Greek language, or brought it into vogue. It is not to be queſtioned, that this was an acquiſition advantageous to learning; but the career was open before; poetry and eloquence were cultivated; the models of ancient Rome, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Titus Livius, Salluſt, &c. were ſtudied. And would not theſe have been ſufficient to communicate ideas of the truly beautiful? Could not theſe have formed the poets, orators, and hiſtorians of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries?

attributed to the Greeks.

I dare aſſert, that the learned languages were at firſt leſs a ſource of information, and a model for correcting taſte, than a fund of grammatical erudition. The ſtudy of words drew off men's attention from things. The greateſt part of the new literati were characterized by a ſtiff pedantry, inceſſantly employed in trifling minutiæ, or heaping up ridiculous quotations. They compiled, they commented, they imitated, like laborious ſlaves; but they did not think. They certainly ſmoothed the way for men of real genius to acquire the knowledge of which they might ſtand in need; but to imagine, with the people of that age, that the ſtudy of the ancients was the only thing requiſite; to adore even their faults, to take their judgments for oracles, to condemn every thing formed on a model different from theirs, and ſuperſtitiouſly to copy their language, was the way not to bring reaſon and taſte to perfection, but to retard their progreſs.

More pedants than men of taſte were at firſt made by the ſtudy of the learned languages.

While the dead languages were ſtudied, the living ought to have been cultivated. While Italy purſued this method, ſhe produced excellent authors; but when a contrary courſe was taken, ſhe had only *Ciceronians* without ideas, or awkward compilers. The other nations were long inferiour to her, while the ſpirit of pedantry prevented men of letters from writing in the national language, and thus enlightening the public, while

The vulgar languages were unhappily neglected.

while they inſtructed themſelves in the ſame ſchool. Commines and Monſtrelet, whoſe hiſtories are ſtill intereſting, though written in an obſolete jargon, would have rouſed the emulation of the French writers, had it been ſeen, that the Greek and Latin, by furniſhing models, might teach the art of thinking more juſtly, and writing more elegantly in the native language of the country.

Prejudices of the ſchools.

The diſputes of the ſchools, which always became matters of religion and affairs of ſtate, are a melancholy proof of the ſlavery in which reaſon was long fettered. Ariſtotle, who had been condemned by a ſentence of the church, in the thirteenth century, was now reſtored by a ſentence equally reaſonable, and reigned over the doctors with uncontrouled dominion. A legate, who about the middle of the fifteenth century reformed the univerſity of Paris, had made it a law to teach the doctrine of that philoſopher. As he was known only by the commentaries of the Arabians, Averroes, in the name of Ariſtotle, dictated oracles in the Chriſtian ſchools. Natural philoſophy, ethics, and even theology, were in ſome ſort ſubjected to his unintelligible ideas. All the ſects endeavoured to ſupport themſelves by his authority, as by that of the holy ſcripture, and both were quoted as of equal weight; by which abſurd mixture, religion was degraded, and philoſophy converted into a monſter.

The authority of Ariſtotle abſolute in them.

Diſputes between the Realiſts and Nominals abſurdly made a matter of ſerious attention.

Two abſurd ſects, the *Realiſts* and *Nominals* (the firſt of whom maintained *eſſences*, and other abſtractions, to be real beings; and the laſt combated this chimerical notion by falſe ſubtilties) contended with the moſt inveterate rage, and, not content with the anathemas of the church, invoked the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm. Louis XI. declared againſt the Nominals, and cauſed their books to be chained down; upon which the diſpute, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, became more furious. Thoſe books eſcaped from their captivity, and the battle was continued. Had not Deſcartes appeared, perhaps

haps philoſophers would ſtill be diſputing on the like impertinences.

Diſputes between the Thomiſts and Scotiſts of more importance.

At the ſame time, the world was diſturbed by the obſtinate quarrels between the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, or Dominicans and Franciſcans. The firſt denied the immaculate conception of the Virgin; the ſecond wanted to erect it into a new article of faith. The firſt aſſerted, that the five wounds, which Jeſus Chriſt received on the croſs, were miraculouſly imprinted on the body of St. Catharine of Sienna, a nun of their order; the ſecond affirmed, that this grace was beſtowed only on St. Francis, their founder. The one maintained, that while Chriſt was in the ſepulchre, the divinity continued united with his blood; the others aſſerted the contrary. They frequently accuſed each other of hereſy; both of them, to the utmoſt of their power, converting their peculiar opinion into an univerſal rule of faith, which is commonly the end aimed at in all theological ſyſtems.

Savonarola accuſed of hereſy.

Jerom Savonarola, an enthuſiaſtic Dominican, and celebrated preacher at Florence, fell a victim to the rivalſhip between the orders. He had declaimed againſt pope Alexander VI. whoſe vicious conduct ſtruck univerſal horrour; and was accuſed of heterodoxy, when one of his brethren offered to juſtify him by the *ordeal* of fire.

Ordeal of fire offered, and refuſed to be undergone.

A Franciſcan engaged to undergo the ſame trial, in order to prove him guilty. The propoſal was accepted, and a day fixed for the ceremony; but the Franciſcan was intimidated, and retracted. Another took his place, and likewiſe drew back. At laſt, a lay brother of the ſame order entered the liſts. The magiſtrates and the people of Florence haſtened in crowds to the ſight, and the fires were lighted up; but the Dominican very prudently bethought himſelf of refuſing to enter them without the euchariſt; which was denied, either from reverence to the ſacrament, or becauſe it was oppoſed by the Franciſcan; and both retired without doing any thing.

Notwithſtanding

Execution of Savonarola.

Notwithſtanding this, Savonarola was burut in 1498, together with two other Dominicans. He was one of thoſe men, half knaves half fanatics, who abuſe the popular credulity, in order to eſtabliſh their opinions and acquire power. Commines tells us that he predicted the event of the battle at Fornuovo; but makes no reflections on this pretended propheſy.

Theſes of Picus Mirandola.

While theologians were placing themſelves in a light which reflected diſgrace on the human underſtanding, Picus Mirandola was ambitious of acquiring the reputation of an univerſal genius. In 1486, at the age of twenty three, he maintained theſes at Rome on all the ſciences; thelogy, mathematics, natural philoſophy, &c. without excepting the *cabala** and magic, which, as well as aſtrology, was then made a ſubject of the moſt ſerious ſtudy. He had principally formed himſelf on St. Thomas and Ariſtotle, yet he did not eſcape cenſure. His theſes were laid before Innocent III. who condemned thirteen propoſitions in them. Picus wrote a defence, and eaſily confounded his accuſers. One of them, inveighing againſt the *cabala*, of which he had not the leaſt idea, being aſked what it was, replied—It is well known that *Cabala was a heretic, who blaſphemed Jeſus Chriſt, and whoſe followers bear the name of Cabaliſts.* This prince, the wonder of his age in point of knowledge, injured his health by intenſe application, and died at the age of thirty three. He had obtained abſolution from Alexander VI. and abdicated his principality, to addict himſelf entirely to works of piety.

His condemnation at Rome, and his defence.

The court of Rome was not reformed.

It is ſtill a matter, not only of curioſity, but of indiſpenſable neceſſity, to take a view of the Romiſh court; which, though its ſpiritual thunders had loſt much of their terrour, was equally ambitious, more political, in poſſeſſion of a larger territory, and ſtill diſturbed the world by the help of religion and intrigue. All the great projects which had been formed for the reformation of the head and the members of the church, had evaporated

* A kind of abſurd and myſterious ſcience among the Jews.

evaporated in ſmoke. Though the decrees of Conſtance and Bâle had attacked the evil in its root, their execution muſt have been ineffectual, becauſe not enforced by the potentates. What ſtrength can laws have which are eſtabliſhed in a temporary aſſembly, and unſupported by the ſupreme powers of legiſlation, when oppoſed to the torrent of the manners?—or what authority can put them in force?

Selfiſh conduct of the popes.

Accordingly, hiſtory here repreſents the popes as always occupied with the care of their own intereſt, and paying very little regard to the good of the church. Calixtus III. ſucceſſor of Nicholas, roſe to the pontificate by intrigue. He inceſſantly preached up the war againſt the Turks, and on that pretence laid kingdoms under contribution, equipped gallies, and ſucceeded in no laudable attempt. Pius II. who ſucceeded Calixtus, was an artful politician, of a haughty temper, who ſtrove to cancel every thing which he himſelf had judged neceſſary in the council of Bâle, and who ſet an example of ſacrificing truth to the intereſts of fortune. After him, Paul II. ſhamefully violated the oaths by which he had bound himſelf in the conclave, where the obſervation of ſeveral rules had been ſworn, the greateſt part of them advantageous to the cardinals; but he ſilenced their murmurs by giving them red hats, and ſoothing their vanity with trifles. Sixtus IV. acted too conſpicuous a part in the conſpiracy of Florence. One of his principal cares was to accumulate money, under pretence of driving out the Turks, and to employ his riches in procuring ſettlements for his family. After his death, the Romans pillaged his palace. Innocent VIII. a man of infamous character, purſued exactly the ſame ſyſtem; and his ſucceſſor, Alexander, exceeded all that had gone before him. We have already obſerved, that the conduct of the popes drew after it an endleſs train of conſequences. Had they been virtuous, they might have prevented the greateſt miſchiefs, and been authors of the greateſt good, as was the caſe with the ancient

Calixtus III.

Pius II.

Paul II.

Sixtus IV.

Innocent VIII.

Alexander VI.

models

models of the pontificate. But to what did they not expoſe the church by their vices, which diſturbed and corrupted ſociety?

Approaching evils.

Mean time the minds of men were put into fermentation. The new doctrines of Wickliffe and Hus had left a concealed leaven, which was increaſed by reading, by diſputes, by the ſcandalous practices of the clergy, and the licentiouſneſs of the times; nor will it be long till we ſee that inflammable matter, collected under ground, pent up and in agitation, work itſelf a paſſage, and, by its dreadful exploſion, cover the earth with flames and ruin.

NINTH

NINTH EPOCHA.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *or the* DISCOVERY *of the* NEW WORLD.—LEAGUE *againſt* VENICE.—LEO X. *and* LUTHER.

[From the End of the Fifteenth Century till the Year 1519.]

CHAP. I.

Progreſs of Navigation till the Diſcovery of America.

THE wonders which navigation at this period brought to light, the fountains of riches and knowledge which it opened, the new turn which it gave to the political ſyſtem of Europe, deſerve the firſt place in an hiſtorical epocha. This epocha announces new calamities to the human race, under an appearance of glory and happineſs: but humanity riſing to perfection with the progreſs of reaſon, there will perhaps come a time, when the countries which have curſed European tyranny will congratulate themſelves on the advantages which at laſt will accrue to them from our knowledge, our laws, and our arts.

Influence of navigation on the political ſyſtem.

The firſt navigators were formed by induſtry, rouſed to action by neceſſity and intereſt. The Phenicians and Carthaginians extended their maritime commerce to diſtant countries, with no other aſſiſtance than the inſpection of the ſtars, and an uncertain route. The ancient Danes, and above all the Norwegians, a piratical and intrepid people, plunged into barbariſm, executed enterpriſes the more aſtoniſhing, as they owed every thing

Firſt navigators.

thing to their courage. In 874, they penetrated into Iceland, and there eſtabliſhed a conſiderable colony. In 982, they diſcovered Groenland, in which they likewiſe planted a colony.

It is pretended that they landed in America.

But what appears incredible, and yet given by M. Mallet as a fact ſufficiently authenticated, is, that ſoon after they landed on the continent of America, to which they gave the name of Vinland, and there founded a new colony, which is frequently mentioned in the Icelandic chronicles as far down as 1121. "From that "time (ſays M. Mallet) Vinland ſeems by degrees to "have been forgotten in the North; and that part of "Groenland which had embraced Chriſtianity being "loſt, Iceland alſo fallen from its former ſtate, and the "northern nations being waſted by a peſtilence, and "weakened by internal feuds, all remembrance of that "diſcovery was at length utterly obliterated; and the "Norwegian Vinlanders, ceaſing to have any correſpon-"dence with Europe, degenerated, from cauſes more "eaſy to be imagined than advanced with certainty."

It is thought that the Eſquimaux are deſcended from them.

It is conjectured, that the iſle of Newfoundland is the Vinland of the Norwegians, and that the Eſquimaux are the deſcendants of their colony. In fact, that people are diſtinguiſhed from the other American ſavages by white ſkins, a beard, commonly fair hair, and an advantageous ſtature. *(See Northern Antiquities)*. I know what doubts ſuch traditions and conjectures may leave; but they are at leaſt more intereſting than the fables of our ancient chronicle makers.

Abſurd notion entertained of the antipodes till the fifteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, before the diſcoveries of the illuſtrious Chriſtopher Columbus, the exiſtence of the antipodes was ſtill looked upon as chimerical. Superſtition, the companion and ſupport of ignorance, ſtrengthened this errour by making it a point of theology. How could men, ſeparated from us by the depths of the ocean, have the ſame original with us, deſcend from Adam, and ſhare in the benefit of redemption? Thus did theologians reaſon for ſome ages.

The

The falſe philoſophers, that is, almoſt all who attempted to argue, had no juſter notions. The globular figure of the earth, with which the ancients were acquainted, ſeemed an opinion ſhocking to reaſon. Should beings, placed in another hemiſphere oppoſite to ours, walk with their heads downwards? What an abſurdity! was the univerſal cry. Thus was a thing, true in fact, reckoned among the number of abſurd errours, and even of impieties. An important leſſon, both to preſumptuous judges, who decide arrogantly without knowledge, and puſillanimous minds, which creep in the fetters of prejudice, without even conjecturing that reaſon has any right to ſet herſelf free.

Invention of the compaſs.

Had not the compaſs been invented, perhaps the illuſion would have been invincible. A needle, directing the courſe through the ſeas, and pointing out the pole more exactly than even the polar ſtar; when navigators were poſſeſſed of this ſure guide, they became capable of undertaking any thing. It was in uſe in the fourteenth century. The Canary iſlands had been before diſcovered by the Spaniards. This was a new incitement to their hopes and to their courage.

Don Henry rouſes a ſpirit for navigation in Portugal.

The infant don Henry, ſon of John II. king of Portugal, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, excited by his genius a thirſt for navigation. The Portugueſe turned their attention to the weſtern coaſts of Africa, and doubled cape *Non*, which was looked upon as an inſurmountable barrier. In 1420, they diſcovered the iſland of Madeira, where they planted ſugar canes, a production of the Indies which had been brought by the Arabians into Sicily and the iſle of Cyprus, and was afterwards tranſplanted into America.

He obtains from Martin V. a right to make conqueſts, and indulgences.

This infant of Portugal thought it neceſſary to addreſs himſelf to Rome, in order more to animate a ſuperſtitious nation. Martin V. ſeconded his views, as if the univerſe had been at his diſpoſal. He granted to the Portugueſe whatever they could conquer, from cape Bojador to the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt Indies, with

plenary indulgences for all who loſt their lives in theſe expeditions. Such bulls greatly promoted the ſucceſs of the ſcheme; for the boldneſs of the conquerors would neceſſarily have been gradually weakened by fatigues and dangers, had not their avidity been whetted by a kind of fanaticiſm.

The cape of Good Hope diſcovered.

After the death of Henry, which happened in 1461, the Portugueſe ſtill puſhed on their enterpriſes. They at laſt paſſed the Equator, gave to the ſtormy cape the name of *Good Hope*; and then, in fact, they might form great hopes from thoſe diſcoveries which had hitherto been more aſtoniſhing than uſeful.

CHAP. II.

Voyages of Chriſtopher Columbus to the New World.

Conjectures and projects of Chriſtopher Columbus.

A SUPERIOUR genius already turned his views towards the other hemiſphere. Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, ſettled at Liſbon, ſtruck with the ſucceſs of ſo many bold navigators, and giving ſcope to his ideas, reflecting on the figure of the earth, with the help of a map incorrectly conſtructed, grew into a perſuaſion, that the Atlantic Ocean comprehended unknown countries, or that a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies and China might be found by the Weſt. This laſt conjecture, although falſe, was the original of the moſt important diſcovery ever made by men. But had not Columbus been endowed with heroic courage, his vaſt ideas would have been diſregarded as chimerical.

He is treated like a viſionary at Genoa, & elſewhere.

Like a good citizen, he firſt propoſed the attempt to his countrymen, as a means of depriving the Venetians of the rich commerce which they carried on with the Indies by the way of Egypt and the Red Sea. But the Genoeſe looked upon him only as a viſionary; nor was he better treated by the courts of France, England, and Portugal,

Portugal, to which he ſucceſſively addreſſed himſelf. This great man, inflamed with that enthuſiaſm which is inſpired by great enterpriſes, and carries them into execution, ſtill perſevered. He ſwallowed the railleries and inſults which he met with; ſolicited Ferdinand and Iſabella in Spain; bore their refuſals for eight years; and, in order to obtain permiſſion to go in queſt of new kingdoms for them, was obliged to ſet in motion the ſprings of zeal and religion. A Cordelier and two other churchmen, ſtruck with his diſcourſes, determined Iſabella to an enterpriſe calculated for propagating the Chriſtian faith. Being unable to find money, ſhe ſold her jewels; a ſum was advanced by a private perſon; and at laſt Columbus found himſelf at the head of a little ſquadron of three ſmall veſſels, with the title of admiral.

Motives by which the court of Spain was determined to employ him.

He embarked, with tranſports of joy, on the third day of Auguſt, 1492; and after only thirty three days ſail, during which he was every moment expoſed to the murmurs and mutiny of his crew, he diſcovered one of the Lucayan iſlands. This diſcovery was followed by that of the others, as well as Cuba and Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo. At the end of about nine months, he returned with a quantity of gold, and ſome Americans. Prejudice was confounded. Ferdinand and Iſabella loaded with honours the perſon who, before his ſucceſs, had been treated as a madman. He ate at their table, ſat down and was covered in their preſence as a grandee of Spain. They appointed him admiral of the Weſt Indies, and entruſted him with eighteen veſſels for a ſecond voyage, from which the greateſt advantages were expected; and Columbus again put to ſea in September 1493.

1492. First voyage of Chriſtopher Columbus to America.

Honours he received at his return.

The method to reap advantage from the diſcoveries was by the eſtabliſhment of colonies; for which purpoſe he choſe the iſle of St. Domingo. Every thing was an object of terrour to the ſavages. Men, on horſeback with fire arms, appeared to them dreadful gods armed

Colony of Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo.

with thunder. What ideas muſt they entertain of thoſe large veſſels which vomited flames and thunderbolts, and reſembled volcanos moveable at pleaſure? However, Columbus prudently treated them with kindneſs; and found leſs diſturbance from them than from the Spaniards, who flattered themſelves with accumulating gold and ſilver without the leaſt trouble. The fatigue attendant on the eſtabliſhment of the colony, and the exact diſcipline which was obſerved; in ſhort, every thing contributed to ſtir them up againſt the admiral, whoſe patience and prudence were put to the ſevereſt trials. He had juſt diſcovered Jamaica; and on his return found the colony had mutinied, and the Americans in arms for its deſtruction. While he was employed in reconciling the one, and diſſipating the other, his enemies calumniated him in Spain. A ſuperintendant was ſent to hamper and thwart him. He found it neceſſary to return to Europe, where he exculpated himſelf without difficulty; but could not obtain ſupplies for a third voyage, till after long ſolicitations and a thouſand affected delays.

Rebellion of the Spaniards againſt Columbus

He returns to juſtify himſelf at court.

Columbus again put to ſea in the year 1498, and arrived on the continent of America. He for ſome time ſailed up the Oronooko; but, yielding to the apprehenſions of the crew, abandoned his diſcovery, and returned to St. Domingo, after having trafficked on the coaſts with different ſavages, leſs from motives of intereſt, than with a view to get acquainted with the country and the inhabitants; whoſe ſimplicity was ſuch, that they with pleaſure exchanged their pearls and gold duſt for bits of glaſs or ſmall toys of tin.

He diſcovers the continent of America.

On his arrival at St. Domingo, he was again blackened by ingratitude and envy. His enemies triumphed at court during his abſence; a governour was ſent to ſucceed him; and this officer was not aſhamed to put him in irons, and ſend him like a criminal to Spain. The injuſtice of this act was too flagrant, and was attended with the ſame conſequences as before. Columbus

He meets with freſh inſtances of injuſtice.

bus was put at the head of a fleet, and in 1502 made a fourth voyage, when he again met with perſecution and ingratitude; notwithſtanding which, he diſcovered the iſthmus of Darien; but having been overtaken by a violent ſtorm, he put into Jamaica.

Advantage which he took of an eclipſe.

There it was, that, being deſtitute of proviſions, and ſurrounded by mutineers, he ſaved himſelf by that effort of genius which has been ſo much celebrated. Knowing that an eclipſe of the moon was approaching, he threatened the ſavages with the moſt dreadful vengeance, if they refuſed him proviſions; and, as a proof of what they had to dread, declared, that the moon would be darkened at ſuch an hour. As ſoon as the eclipſe began, the Americans flocked to him in a panic, and thought themſelves happy to ſoften him by furniſhing the ſupplies which he required.

Unhappy end of this great man.

When Columbus returned into Spain, his protectreſs Iſabella was dead. Ferdinand gave him fair words, but nothing elſe; and he died in 1506, weighed down with grief and infirmities. He is admired for the conſtancy with which he ſerved an ungrateful court, that had given him ſo many reaſons of diſguſt. We ought likewiſe to admire his humanity towards the ſavages, whom he almoſt always prudently treated with gentleneſs.

Acts of barbarity againſt the ſavages.

After him, a ſanguinary barbarity was let looſe againſt theſe unhappy people, who were entirely exterminated from St. Domingo and Cuba, and even hunted with dogs. Is it ſurpriſing, that a cacique, or chief of the ſavages, replied to the miſſionaries, who exhorted him to gain paradiſe by ſuffering with patience—*I deſire not to enter your paradiſe, if there are Spaniards in it.* But let us remark in general, that the colonies commonly conſiſted of the moſt worthleſs part of the nation, of wretches entirely deſtitute of principles and virtue, who breathed only murder and robbery. Almoſt all the European colonies have had the ſame origin. The crimes of Europe, therefore, if I may uſe the expreſſion, were diſcharged into all thoſe countries, where the bold ſpirit of adventure went in queſt of riches. The

Americ Veſpucci unjuſtly claims the diſcovery of the new world.

The fame of the voyages made by Columbus rouſed the emulation, or rather the avidity, of multitudes of adventurers. Americ Veſpucci, a Florentine, commanded one of their veſſels, and claimed the honour of having diſcovered the new world in 1498, five years after the firſt voyage of Columbus. Though the latter had not diſcovered the continent, ought not his glory to have eclipſed thoſe who only followed his route? Yet America bears the name of the Florentine, whoſe title to immortality is very ill founded: ſo much is even reputation ſubject to the caprices of fortune! but they who can form a juſt eſtimate of merit, are not impoſed upon by words.

Pretenſions of ſome Engliſh to this diſcovery.

It has been aſſerted by ſome Engliſhmen, that, in the twelfth century, a Welſh prince, named Madoc, firſt penetrated into the new world, where he died; but this fact, which is far from being ſo well authenticated as that of the Norwegians, bears too great a reſemblance to the fables invented by national pride.

The Spaniards and Portugueſe diſpute their extraordinary rights of conqueſts.

Ferdinand and Iſabella had not omitted to ſolicit at Rome the right of conquering the countries already diſcovered, or to be diſcovered, which they obtained without difficulty; as the popes, by granting what did not belong to them, made conqueſts for themſelves. But John II. king of Portugal, inſiſted upon ſharing with the Spaniards in this rich prize; and the fleet which he equipped for that purpoſe gave occaſion to a diſpute. Alexander VI. judged between the two crowns, and ſettled their boundaries, in 1493, by the line of *marcation*, which was drawn a hundred leagues to the weſt of Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verd. The following year, it was found neceſſary to draw another, which paſſed through the Canaries, and was called the line of *demarcation*. Thus was the unknown world divided between Spain and Portugal; the Weſt was given to the one, and the Eaſt to the other; for men had no notion, that what was the eaſt on one ſide of the globe, was the weſt on the other. Every one

Singular deciſion of the controverſy, by Alexander VI.

muſt

muſt ſee that ſuch regulations could not be permanent; however, they ſeemed to realize the claim of univerſal dominion made by the popes.

CHAP. III.

Conqueſts of the Portugueſe in Aſia.—Mexico and Peru ſubdued by the Spaniards.

IF the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe whetted the genius of Chriſtopher Columbus, that nation was equally excited by thoſe of Columbus to attempt new enterpriſes. Example and ſucceſs have always been the great incitements of the human mind. In 1497, Emanuel I. king of Portugal, filled with the ſame grand ideas as his anceſtors, ſent Vaſquez Gama to the Indies, with a crew of 160 men, including ſoldiers as well as ſeamen. It may be aſked, why did he ſend ſo ſmall a number? The reaſon is, that fear yet balanced or exceeded hope. Gama ſurmounted all the dangers of the ocean, made the tour of Africa, landed in Mozambique and Calicut in the Eaſt Indies, and, two years after, returned to give an account of his diſcoveries; which, as well as the navigation to America, entirely changed the face of Europe, by the treaſures with which they furniſhed the maſters of the ſea. This new route ſoon attracted immenſe numbers of Portugueſe; and their generals, particularly Alphonſo Albuquerque, carried terrour to the remoteſt parts of the Eaſt. Goa, Malacca, Ormus, the iſle of Ceylon, abounding in cinnamon and precious ſtones, and the Molucca iſlands, which produce cloves, were, for the moſt part, conquered by them. They built Macao in China, and penetrated into Japan, and eſtabliſhed an immenſe trade on the ruins of the Venetians; theſe not being able to ſell at ſo low a rate the Indian goods which they brought from Alexandria.

The Portugueſe arrive in the Eaſt Indies by way of the ocean.

Their conqueſts in Aſia.

All

Barbarity and ſuperſtition diſplayed in theſe vaſt enterpriſes.

All theſe enterpriſes, at firſt view, fill us with admiration. But if we reflect, that they increaſed the thirſt of gold to ſuch a height, as to make even the true bleſſings of ſociety and nature be forgotten; that they cauſed torrents of blood to be ſhed, even in the name of Jeſus Chriſt; that inhuman adventurers, with the crucifix in their hands, maſſacred millions of their own ſpecies, under pretence of eſtabliſhing Chriſtianity, which they themſelves diſhonoured; that an inſenſate ſuperſtition contributed equally with inſatiable avarice to fill them with ferocious cruelty; we ſhall on one ſide view with admiration the wonders performed by induſtry and courage, while, on the other, we deplore the horrible exceſſes which were committed. The miſſionaries have intermixed a number of miracles with their accounts of thoſe conqueſts; and it is eaſy to ſee in theſe enterpriſes the ſpirit of the cruſades, with the ſanguinary manners and odious prejudices which have been ſo long fatal to the human race.

The Americans were entirely ſavage, except in Mexico & Peru.

To collect in one view ſimilar objects, which, beſides, have no relation to the general ſyſtem of Europe, let us anticipate a little on the time, and follow the Spaniards into Mexico and Peru. The reſt of America was peopled by ſavages, who more or leſs reſembled brutes. Here we ſee two great empires, where the arts were cultivated, and riches produced a ſort of magnificence. We behold them conquered by a handful of adventurers; and the Spaniſh monarchy at once making an immenſe acquiſition of power, while the other ſovereigns did not exert the leaſt effort on that account. Perhaps this is the moſt remarkable ſcene ever preſented by fortune.

Empire of Mexico.

The empire of Mexico, like thoſe in the old world, had been formed by conqueſts. The little antiquity aſcribed to it ſeems to prove that ſociety had made rapid progreſs. But, are the firſt authors, who gave an account of Mexico and Peru, to be relied upon? How did they find memoirs in a country where writing was unknown?

unknown? They were bad critics; they exaggerated their narrations from a principle of vanity, and that inclination, to which men are naturally too prone, of telling falſehoods, when they deſcribe unknown countries; ſo that now we can ſcarcely give credit to ſome of the facts which they affirm to have been recent, or mention as things that muſt have been at that time univerſally known. According to them, Mexico, the capital of the empire of that name, contained about ſixty thouſand families, and had eſtabliſhments and works worthy of a poliſhed nation; markets, courts of juſtice, ſchools for youth, houſes of ſtone, temples, and columns ſhining with gold, magazines filled with offenſive and defenſive weapons, gardens of medicinal plants, &c. The Mexican year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty five days; they muſt therefore have made conſiderable progreſs in Aſtronomy.

Hernando Cortez penetrates into it, with very few troops

In the reign of Charles V. Velaſquez, governour of Cuba, formed a ſcheme for ſeizing ſome part of that vaſt continent, and truſted the execution to Hernando Cortez, a man of reſolution and abilities, capable of performing great actions with ſlender means; who, embarking in 1519, with no more than five hundred foot and about ſixty horſe, penetrated into the Gulph of Mexico, where he built the city of Vera Cruz; after which he forced the republic of Tlaſcala to grant him ſome ſuccours, and boldly advanced to the capital of the empire. Terrour ſtill marched before the Spaniards. Their ſhips, their horſes, their artillery, their iron armour, were to the Americans ſuch objects of novelty and dread, that, though they had not been ignorant ſavages, they muſt naturally have concluded this ſpecies of men to be endowed with ſomething far exceeding human ſtrength.

The terrour which he ſtruck.

He forces the emperour Montezuma to ſubmit.

Montezuma, eleventh emperour of Mexico, found himſelf obliged to give theſe dangerous gueſts an honourable reception, whom he could not get rid of by his offers or artifices. He loaded them with careſſes;

but

but their general, ſoon learning that an attack had been made on a party of the Spaniards, ſome of whom had been wounded, and even ſlain, had the boldneſs to impriſon the emperour in the middle of his capital, and obliged him to acknowledge himſelf the vaſſal of Charles V. king of Spain; exacting from him immenſe treaſures, by way of tribute, and ruling that vaſt monarchy with abſolute dominion.

A fruitleſs attempt to deprive him of the command.

Meantime Velaſquez, who had quarrelled with Cortez, after his departure ſent a ſmall army, under Narvaez, to deprive him of the command; but, far from being intimidated by the danger, he left fourſcore men in Mexico, and marched with the reſt of his troops againſt his enemy Narvaez, whom he ſurpriſed and made priſoner; upon which he was joined by the troops that were to have puniſhed him as a rebel.

The Mexicans revolt, on account of an act of violence.

In his abſence, the Spaniards had maſſacred ſeveral Mexicans of high rank, in a temple, under pretence of a conſpiracy; which act of barbarity had ſtirred up a general inſurrection; when Cortez arrived, and attacked the Mexicans, whom he could not diſſipate, though he made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. As the ſlighteſt loſs was to him conſiderable, he obliged Montezuma to ſhew himſelf, and order his ſubjects to ſubmit.

Tragical death of Montezuma.

This unhappy prince, though before idolized, was now looked upon by the multitude only as a ſlave; they uttered the moſt inſulting reproaches; and a ſtone was thrown at him, by the ſtroke of which he died in a few days, without ſuffering his wound to be dreſſed (1520.)

Cortez beſieged in Mexico.

The empire being elective, Guatimozin, ſon in law of Montezuma, was choſen in his room. The new monarch attempted to drive out the Spaniards; with which view he laid ſiege to Mexico, and broke the cauſeways that joined the city to the continent; it being ſituated in the middle of a lake. Cortez, being in want of proviſions, made good his retreat by favour of the night, ſurmounting every kind of obſtacle and danger, and converting the carcaſes of the Mexicans into bridges.

More

More than two hundred Spaniards loſt their lives in a battle fought during the night; never had they met with ſuch a diſaſter in America.

He returns victorious into the city, and ſubdues the empire.

Had not Cortez found ſo many reſources in his genius and courage, or had the ſuperiority of the Europeans been leſs amazing, Mexico would not have been ſubjected to a foreign yoke. But the general ſoon made his appearance again before the capital, to which he laid ſiege with an army of more than two hundred thouſand Americans. Guatimozin, equally prudent and brave, was deſirous of coming to an accommodation; but the prieſt oppoſed it in the name of their gods, promiſing victory to thoſe who ſhould defend the ancient worſhip. However, this ſpirit of fanaticiſm could not reſiſt the Spaniſh cannon. Notwithſtanding the heroic efforts and ſtratagems of the emperour, Mexico was taken in 1521, and the whole empire ſubdued; which at preſent makes the country of New Spain, comprehending a territory of more than two hundred leagues from north to ſouth.

The emperour Guatimozin put to the torture.

Guatimozin was made priſoner, and treated with humanity by Cortez. But ſome rapacious villains, without the knowledge of the general, laid that prince over a heap of burning coals, to make him confeſs where he had concealed his treaſures. A Mexican, who ſuffered with him, uttering loud cries—*Am I*, ſaid the emperour to him, *on a bed of roſes?* Cortez came up, and freed him from this dreadful torture; but, three years after, cauſed him to be hanged, on pretence of a conſpiracy.

Cortez ill rewarded.

The conqueror of Mexico met with mortifications as well as Columbus. Hatred and envy followed him cloſe. Charles V. deprived him of his government, and gave him a marquiſate in Spain; but in other reſpects treated him with neglect. If we believe the celebrated Las Caſas, a Dominican biſhop of Chiapa, Cortez had deſtroyed four millions of Americans in Mexico. It is too ſure that the Spaniards every where

ſhed

ſhed rivers of blood. The human ſacrifices, which they reproached that people with offering, could the leſs juſtify their barbarities, as they always boaſted of fighting for the moſt beneficent of all religions. However, Las Caſas has exaggerated.

Three adventurers undertake the conqueſt of Peru.

Another empire, where gold and ſilver were uſed for the ſame purpoſes as iron is in Europe, gave a ſudden increaſe to the Spaniſh monarchy. A company of adventurers eaſily made a conqueſt of it, for a king who entertained no ſuch thoughts. Pizarro, Almagro, and a prieſt named Luquez, having heard ſome reports of Peru, formed a deſign to make themſelves maſters of it. Their union was cemented by oaths and religious ceremonies, till it ſhould be broken by jealouſy, which very ſoon happened. After ſome fruitleſs attempts, the murdering arts of Europe produced their uſual effect.

The incas, their works, &c.

The empire of Peru was ſubject to maſters, who bore the title of incas; the firſt of whom paſſed for a child of the ſun, and his power had been eſtabliſhed by ſuperſtition, as well as arms. Atabalipa, the twelfth emperour of that race, which was adored as divine, then poſſeſſed the crown by uſurpation from his brother; and this quarrel had filled the country with diſcord. It is ſaid, that their father had cauſed a high road to be conſtructed, acroſs mountains and precipices, from Cuſco to Quito, a ſpace of about five hundred leagues. At the end of every half league were ſtationed meſſengers, always ready to convey the orders of the prince. Incredible wonders are likewiſe told of the population of Peru, the number and magnificence of the cities and palaces, &c. Under the pen of Garcilaſſo de la Vega every thing becomes marvellous; but no veſtiges of ſo many ſuperb works are now to be found.

Manners of the Peruvians.

The manners of the Peruvians are ſaid to have been gentle, pure, and ſimple. In their worſhip, they had a barbarous cuſtom of murdering children, in order to ſprinkle with their blood a kind of holy bread which was diſtributed in their temples; but ſuperſtition, in ſome

ſome reſpects, always runs counter to the manners. The incas were abſolute monarchs, and yet ſhewed themſelves the fathers of the people, which is another ſpecies of contradiction.

When the Spaniards penetrated into this country, in 1531, being favoured by the brother of the inca, they, according to cuſtom, ſent ambaſſadours to offer their friendſhip, and preach their religion. Atabalipa gave them a favourable reception, and went to meet Pizarro; when a monk preached to him a ſermon on the myſteries of Chriſtianity, threatening him with hell and the plagues of Egypt, if he hardened his heart againſt the influence of grace. While an interpreter was well or ill explaining the ſentiments of each party, ſome ſoldiers attempted to pillage a temple; they were reſiſted, and an action enſued, which ended in a maſſacre of the Peruvians, and the captivity of their emperour. He offered for his ranſom as much gold as could be contained in one of the halls of his palace, as high as he could reach; and immediately gave orders for putting his promiſe in execution.* But the Peruvians, not being able to ſatisfy the avidity of the conquerors, Atabalipa was in a ſhort time condemned to the flames, as guilty of idolatry, concubinage, and a conſpiracy. The monk, who at firſt preached to him, prevailed on him to receive baptiſm; after the adminiſtration of which, he was ſtrangled, and thrown into the flames.

Particulars of this conqueſt.

Pizarro and Almagro, becoming irreconcilable enemies, the former cauſed the latter to be beheaded, and was murdered in revenge. A ſon of Almagro, and a brother of Pizarro, attempting to make themſelves ſovereigns of Peru, both periſhed by a violent death. Thus did the oppreſſors of America, by their ambition, avarice and villainy, expiate the calamities they had brought upon the unhappy natives.

The conquerors irreconcilable enemies to each other.

The

* The fifth part of the inca's ranſom alone amounted to 13,265,000 lbs. of gold, without reckoning the ſilver. Every trooper had 240 marks of gold. With what eagerneſs muſt people have flocked to America!

Shameful diſeaſe, and other calamities brought upon us by the diſcovery of America.

The ſhameful and tormenting diſeaſe which they brought from that country, after their firſt voyage, was already a ſevere ſcourge to Europe. Perhaps the treaſures of the new world are become ſtill more fatal. What rivers of blood have they not coſt! What ravages have they not produced! Can all that Europe has loſt, in order to complete the devaſtation of America, be compenſated with ſugar, coffee, cacao, cochineal, quinquina, &c.? This conqueſt is the cauſe of the dreadful ſlavery of the negroes, who, in that country, are obliged to drudge like the vileſt animals; and to it in part are to be attributed our wars.

Diſcoveries at different times.

I do not enter into a particular detail of the diſcoveries. In 1500, the Portugueſe diſcovered Brazil. In 1519, Magellan, a Portugueſe in the ſervice of Spain, diſcovered the ſtrait which bears his name. In 1535, Almagro, the rival of Pizarro, landed in Chili, and conquered that country.

CHAP. IV.

Manners of the American Savages.

THE manners of the Americans are a very intereſting object; but the limits of this work prevent us from taking a particular view of them: we muſt therefore content ourſelves with a few obſervations.

Government of the ſavages.

Except Peru and Mexico, where deſpotiſm had been eſtabliſhed by force, and the arts doubtleſs had a particular influence on the manners, the Americans in general exhibit a picture of the primitive ſtate of ſocieties before agriculture had given birth to civil laws. Hardened to fatigue, the injuries of the air, naked, in want of every thing, they paſſed one part of the year in hunting, and the other in profound indolence. They had

had no laws, but were governed by cuſtoms. The affairs of a tribe were decided by the aſſemblies of the old men. Theſe tribes commonly had a chief; but his authority reached no farther than perſuaſion. There was no coercive power, no puniſhment eſtabliſhed for crimes. A criminal was given up to the vengeance of the public: he was killed as an enemy, not puniſhed as a member of the ſociety. In a word, boundleſs liberty conſtituted, and ſtill conſtitutes, the ruling paſſion of thoſe ſavages. The Iroquois preſerve the ſame ſpecies of government, which, being derived from nature, was almoſt univerſal among the uncivilized tribes.

No fixed puniſhment for crimes.

Grave, ſerious, hoſpitable, warm friends and implacable enemies, they ſhew no ferocity, but in their revenge and their wars. Their priſoners are treated in the moſt barbarous manner; and the conſtancy with which they defy and ſupport the extremity of torture, ſeems the utmoſt effort of human nature. In this we diſtinguiſh the character of the antient Celtæ; but, in other reſpects, the ſavages are far from equalling their courage. To ſurpriſe the enemy by ſtratagem, is their method of making war.

Their manners half gentle, half ſavage.

Though polygamy be not uncommon among them, they ordinarily content themſelves with one wife. Before marriage, the women are extremely licentious; after it, they become remarkable for their chaſtity. This is, doubtleſs, in ſome meaſure, the effect of dread; for the huſband has a right to puniſh infidelity in his wife. Several cauſes contribute to make marriages not very fruitful: the exceſſive humidity of the country, the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence, a life of extreme hardſhip, and the cuſtom of the unmarried women to get rid of their pregnancy by abortion. The end aimed at in the education of children, is to make them, in a manner, inſenſible of pain, and even of blows and inſults; but they are never beaten by way of correction, and are left to the enjoyment of entire liberty, becauſe it

Marriages, education, &c.

it is eſteemed the moſt precious of all bleſſings. Yet the married women are almoſt ſlaves.

Religious notions.

There are few ſavages but have ſome confuſed notions of a Supreme Being, though they pay him no worſhip. However, they obſerve a number of ſuperſtitious practices, even in their methods of curing diſeaſes. Spirits, dreams, omens, divination, and magic, employ much of their attention. What civilized nation has not given in to theſe follies, which ſeem to be the fruit of the firſt reflections made by man in a ſtate of ignorance, and ſo much the more timid and credulous, as every thing raiſes his ſurpriſe while he is unacquainted with its cauſe?

The induſtry natural to men diſplayed in Mexico & Peru.

One of the wonders of America is, that human induſtry exerted itſelf in Mexico and Peru, without thoſe helps which it is almoſt impoſſible to ſupply. The art of writing was unknown in them. Atabalipa was exceſſively ſurpriſed at ſeeing the Spaniards read and write, and for ſome time doubted, whether it was not a peculiar gift of nature. Theſe people painted what they wanted to make known at a diſtance. The Peruvian *quipos*, by different combinations of knots, formed a kind of hieroglyphics for the communication of thoughts, and preſerving the memory of events. The uſe of iron was not diſcovered. What appearance of probability is there, that the Americans, without iron, without writing, ſhould have riſen to ſuch a pitch of induſtry and knowledge, as is ſuppoſed in narrations evidently of doubtful authority? If the greateſt part of our travellers have forged numberleſs falſehoods, is much credit to be given to the Spaniards of thoſe times?

The ſavages more remarkable.

Whatever be in this, the ſavages deſerve to be ſtudied more than the other Americans. We think them miſerable, yet none of them could ever be accuſtomed to our method of living: they prefer their foreſts and their liberty. We think them ſtupid, notwithſtanding they have been ſeen, eſpecially in North America, giving frequent proofs of wiſdom and greatneſs of ſoul; haranguing

ranguing with the energy of Spartans; forming confederacies, after the manner of the ancient Greeks, and purſuing a regular plan of politics. They elect a chief in caſes of neceſſity; and their old men form a kind of ſenate, to which they join national aſſemblies for the common intereſt. This is a picture of men.

CHAP. V.

Louis XII. *and Ferdinand the Catholic, to the League of Cambray.—Alexander* VI.

LET us reſume the hiſtory of Europe with the reign of Louis XII. formerly duke of Orleans; a monarch idolized by the French, becauſe he loved and eaſed them from taxes; but who, by his imprudent enterpriſes, and even ſometimes by his injudicious economy, expoſed the ſtate to great misfortunes. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he applied himſelf to the promotion of the public good, and forgot his perſonal reſentments. Every body admires that noble expreſſion which he made uſe of when he pardoned his enemies:—*The king of France does not revenge the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.*

1498. Louis XII. aſcends the throne.

Charles VIII. having left no poſterity, the reunion of Bretagne to the crown was diſſolved; and the former paſſion entertained by Louis for the queen Anne, who was heireſs of that province, added weight to the political reaſons which made him deſirous of marrying her. Joan, daughter of Louis XI. a virtuous princeſs, but extremely ugly, had been his wife for twenty years. Reaſons for a divorce were not wanting; the marriage was forced and barren; and the only thing required to break it was the ſentence of the pope, which Alexander VI. would make no difficulty of paſſing, provided he could find his account in compliance. His principal

He diworces his wife, to marry the heireſs of Bretagne.

paſſion was to make the fortune of his ſon, the cardinal Cæſar Borgia. After the ordinary proceedings, the ſentence of divorce was pronounced by three commiſſioners delegated by the pope; and Borgia, who brought the bull, was made duke de Valentinois, with a conſiderable penſion. This cardinal, who was equally vicious with his father, voluntarily changed his habit.

Alexander VI. grants every thing, and his ſon Borgia is rewarded.

1499. Conqueſt of the Milaneſe from Lodovico Sforza.

Unluckily, one of the great objects aimed at by Louis XII. was to purſue the enterpriſes of his predeceſſor, in Italy, to which he was induced by the thirſt of conqueſt, and his firſt ſucceſs hurried him into misfortune. In right of Valentina Viſconti, his grandmother, he had ſome pretenſions to the Milaneſe, of which Lodovico Sforza had uſurped the poſſeſſion. The duke, being deſtitute of foreign aſſiſtance, could not withſtand the valour of the French, though he was at the head of an army equally numerous. The ſtates of Milan and Genoa were conquered in twenty days. But in ſo ſhort a time as next year, the duke had recovered his dominions. However, a new army of French having paſſed the Alps, Sforza was betrayed by the Swiſs, who were in his pay; and, falling into the hands of the enemy, was led priſoner into France, where he died ſome years after. This is one of thoſe conqueſts, which may be looked upon as a ſource of calamities.

1501. League with Ferdinand the Catholic for the conqueſt of Naples.

Gonſalvo de Cordova.

Louis immediately turned his views upon the kingdom of Naples, the conqueſt of which he offered to ſhare with Ferdinand the Catholic; nor did that monarch heſitate to accept it, though Frederic of Arragon, king of Naples, a prince of his own blood, was to be the victim of their treaty. Alexander VI. entered into their views, in order to turn them to his own advantage; and Gonſalvo de Cordova, ſurnamed the Great Captain, a man as crafty as his maſter, with whom it was a maxim, that *the robe of honour ought to be coarſely woven*, arrived, under pretence of defending the king of Naples; but immediately joined the French in order to ruin him. Frederic was obliged to requeſt an aſylum

lum from Louis XII. and retired to France, where he ſubſiſted on a penſion.

As ſoon as the conqueſt came to be ſhared, diſputes and quarrels aroſe. The Great Captain, a worthy inſtrument of the Catholic king, after having deceived the French, gained two victories over them in 1503. That of Cerignuola coſt the life of the duke de Nemours, laſt prince of the Armagnac family, the founder of which was Caribert, ſon of Clotaire II. Thus did craft triumph, when valour was not accompanied with prudence, and Naples remained in the ſole poſſeſſion of the Spaniards.

The conqueſt remains in the hands of the Spaniards.

At this time died Alexander VI. a man ſtained with the moſt infamous and odious crimes. Cæſar Borgia, his baſtard, had by treachery or murder ſeized for himſelf ſome fiefs in Romania, which were poſſeſſed by different lords. The ſale of indulgences, and other abuſes of the pontifical authority, had furniſhed him with the means of ſatisfying his ambition. What were its fruits? An ambitious and warlike pope, Julius II. ſtripped the ſon of Alexander VI. Borgia's conqueſts augmented the dominions of the church. This hero of Machiavel loſt what he poſſeſſed in France; was ſent priſoner into Spain by Gonſalvo de Cordova; took refuge with the king of Navarre, his brother in law, and loſt his life in a war kindled by his intrigues. The fall of men, diſtinguiſhed for their villainy, is a leſſon which ought to be frequently inculcated by hiſtory.

Death of Alexander VI.

Cæſar Borgia's good fortune not laſting.

The imprudent conduct of kings and miniſters is another, from whence governments may draw much uſeful inſtruction. In France, the only thing thought of, was, the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. A ſtrong army was ſent into Italy, and had they been as quick in their operations as formerly, the ſucceſs ſeemed infallible. But the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who had the ſole management of affairs under Louis XII. being deſirous of the tiara, which had been left vacant by the death of Alexander VI. made the troops halt before

1503. The cardinal d'Amboiſe deſirous to be pope, which cauſes great misfortunes.

Rome, in order to influence the votes of the conclave. However, the Italians, more artful than he, deceived him with fair words, and perſuaded him to withdraw the forces, that his election might appear to be free; when, as ſoon as they got rid of their apprehenſions, they elected an Italian, Pius III. who was ſoon ſucceeded by the famous Julius II. Julian de la Rovera. D'Amboiſe had loſt the pontificate, and the ſeaſon for the campaign. The army was prevented from action by the rains, and Gonſalvo de Cordova again drove out the French.

Treaty of Blois, which tended to the diſmemberment of France.

Another unaccountable errour was the concluſion of the treaty of Blois in 1504, by which Louis promiſed his daughter in marriage to Charles of Auſtria, grandſon of the emperour Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, with Bretagne, Burgundy, the Milaneſe, and Genoa, in caſe he died without iſſue male. The court immediately repented of this diſgraceful procedure, and the ſtates of the kingdom remonſtrated in ſtrong terms, that it was illegal; upon which Louis XII. gave his daughter to the count d'Angoulême, his preſumptive heir, who afterwards wore the crown, under the name of Francis I. and was likewiſe guilty of great faults.

Death of Iſabella, queen of Caſtile.

We have ſeen the face of Spain entirely changed by the marriage of Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, with the king of Arragon. This princeſs, who was inceſſantly on her guard againſt the ambition of Ferdinand her huſband, was governed by her confeſſor Ximenes, an illuſtrious cordelier, afterwards archbiſhop of Toledo, and cardinal. A ſhort time before, ſhe had given the Moors their choice, either to receive baptiſm, or quit the kingdom. The expulſion of the Jews, that of the Moors, and the continual emigrations to America, depopulating Spain, this monarchy became weaker in proportion as its dominions were extended. Thus that reign, though ſo celebrated, is far from deſerving to be quoted as a model.

The

The death of Iſabella in 1504, gave riſe to ſome diſturbances. Her daughter, Joanna the Fooliſh, (married to the archduke Philip the Fair) was her ſole heireſs. King Ferdinand, at firſt in poſſeſſion of the regency, was conſtrained to renounce it and retire to Arragon. But Philip dying, the diſorders being increaſed by Joanna's folly, and her ſon, Charles of Auſtria (Charles V.) young, and at a diſtance from the kingdom, Ximenes thought that Ferdinand the Catholic was the only perſon capable of reſtoring tranquillity; he was therefore reinſtated in the regency, and by his firmneſs diſpelled all the ſtorms.

Troubles after her death.

Ferdinand regent.

Ximenes, now raiſed to the dignity of cardinal and office of grand inquiſitor, ſaw himſelf at the ſummit of power and fortune; but he prudently quitted the court, that he might avoid giving offence to the king, with whoſe jealous temper he was acquainted. He afterwards propoſed to take Oran in Africa at his own expenſe; and Ferdinand, from a perſuaſion that he would not ſucceed, conſented to the expedition, with a view to ruin him. He even wrote in the following terms to Pedro Navarro, admiral of the fleet in which Ximenes had embarked:—*Do not ſuffer the good man to return ſo ſoon into Spain; we muſt let him employ his perſon and his money.* But the king was deceived; the Moors were beaten, and Oran ſubmitted. That auſtere cardinal did not imitate the warlike prelates; like another Moſes, he contented himſelf with invoking the God of battles and victory, inſpiring a ſort of enthuſiaſm, which in ſuch expeditions is of the greateſt advantage.

Oran taken by cardinal Ximenes.

Ximenes, who was a great man, and would have been ſtill greater, had he ſurmounted the prejudices of his age, founded or reſtored the univerſity of Alcala, cauſed a famous polyglotte to be printed, and ſhewed as much zeal for the promotion of learning and ſcience, as for the reformation of the monks. By his cares, the learned languages were cultivated, and Spain produced a great number of civilians, and ſtill more theologians.

He makes eſtabliſhments for the improvement of learning.

But

But what obſtacles has not the inquiſition thrown in the way of every new and uſeful truth? Spain, notwithſtanding her univerſities, did not open her eyes till long after other nations much her inferiours in point of genius.

Ambitious enterpriſes of Julius II.

Italy was at that time filled with commotions by Julius II. This pontiff, of a haughty, ambitious and intrepid ſpirit, inceſſantly employed in projects for aggrandizing himſelf, had already wreſted Romagna from Borgia, Perouſa from Baglioni, and Bologna from Bentivoglio. He had made Genoa revolt from Louis XII. to whom he owed ſome obligations; and, with a deſign to drive him entirely out of Italy, ſtirred up enemies againſt him from all quarters. That prince, having reduced the Genoeſe to obedience, was again deceived by the pontiff, in the famous league formed againſt the Venetians. Let us here give ſome idea of a republic, which was now become an object of jealouſy to the principal powers of Europe.

CHAP. VI.

From the League of Cambray againſt the Venetians, to the Death of Louis XII.—*Julius* II.

Government of Venice, from its original to the fifth century.

WE have ſeen Venice take its riſe in the fifth century, while Italy was a prey to the inundations of the barbarians. The little Iſlands in the ſhoals of the Adriatic ſerved as an aſylum to the people of the neighbourhood, who at firſt ſubſiſted by fiſhing. Each iſle was governed by its peculiar tribune, and every tribune became a tyrant. Theſe tyrants, perceiving the neceſſity of uniting, elected a duke, or doge, about the beginning of the eighth century. The doges, by a frequent abuſe of their power, which had not been confined within due bounds, frequently raiſed diſturbances,

Tribunes.

The doge.

bances, of which they often became the victims. A council, conſiſting of one hundred and forty citizens of all ranks, in which the ſupreme authority was veſted, at laſt put a ſtop to the encroachments of thoſe new magiſtrates, and the violence of popular commotions. But rich and ambitious men found too many ways to ſap the conſtitution, for the ſake of their own advantage.

Great council.

To this democratical form of government ſucceeded the hereditary ariſtocracy in 1289, in conſequence of a regulation which annihilated the ancient equality, by granting to certain families the excluſive right of forming the great council. Ariſtocracy always prognoſticates a rigorous government, which is neceſſary for its ſupport.

Hereditary ariſtocracy in 1289.

A number of families, being excluded from a ſeat in the great council, naturally formed conſpiracies; to prevent the effects of which, the formidable council of ten was erected. This court is inveſted with the power of judging all the citizens, and ſometimes it proceeds upon the reports of informers, as if they were proofs. The tribunal of three ſtate inquiſitors is ſtill more dreadful. Even the doge is ſubjected to its ſecret procedures and arbitrary judgments. Spies, univerſally ſpread, ſerved as accuſers. Magiſtrates, private perſons, natives, foreigners, every perſon on whom ſuſpicion falls, is expoſed to the loſs of his life, without the ſlighteſt formality of juſtice. The perſon condemned by the three inquiſitors, though he never knows his ſentence, cannot avoid his death. Where is the monarchy, in which a deſpotiſm ſo tyrannical prevails?

Council of ten.

State inquiſitors.

Thus is terrour become the ſpring of the Venetian government; to that principally it is indebted for ſubſiſting ſo long a time upon the ſame footing. In it every thing is combined with ſo much art, whether we conſider the election, duration, or functions of the magiſtrates, that it is almoſt impoſſible to raiſe any diſturbance in the ſtate. While the nobles keep the people

Venice governed by terrour, but in an invariable manner.

ple in ſlavery, they are perpetually watching each other: they are either united by intereſt, or tied down by their want of power to form cabals. Hence that unchangeable plan, that uniformity of principles, unexampled in any other government. Perhaps the ſtate inquiſition, like the eccleſiaſtical, produces a kind of calm; but it is by the perpetuation of many abuſes.

Ambition of that republic.

Venice, enriched by commerce, had indulged a paſſion for conqueſts, which is always dangerous to trading republics. In the time of the cruſades, ſhe had made conſiderable acquiſitions of territory on the Grecian ſide; and, a little before this period, had ſeized upon ſome lands belonging to her neighbours in Italy, and even in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Succeſs inſpires pride, and pride leads on imprudence. The Venetians, though ſurrounded by potent enemies, braved the ſtorm, not foreſeeing that theſe would unite for their deſtruction.

1508. Provokes the emperour Maximilian, and beats his troops.

The emperour Maximilian, who was deſirous of being crowned at Rome, demanded leave to paſs through their territories, which they granted, provided he came without troops. This amounted to a refuſal; and Maximilian in a rage put them under the ban of the empire as rebels. He took the title of *Emperour Elect*, which Julius II. confirmed to him by a bull. But why this bull? Why Venice put under the ban of the empire? Obſolete pretenſions were revived on every occaſion. The emperour's arms did not ſupport this haughty procedure againſt the republic. Two imperial armies were defeated; and though the Venetians had been victorious with the aſſiſtance of the French, they concluded a truce without conſulting their allies.

League of Cambray.

On this occaſion was ſecretly formed the famous league of Cambray, for the deſtruction of Venice. The pope, the emperour, the kings of France and Spain, with the duke of Savoy, had entered into a confederacy to ſtrip her of her conqueſts. Conſiderable territories were claimed by each of them: Rimini and Ravenna by the pope; Breſcia, Bergamo, Crema, and Cremona, by

by Lous XII.; Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviſo, and Friuli, by Maximilian; Brindiſi, Trano, and Otranto, by Ferdinand; and the iſle or kingdom of Cyprus by the duke of Savoy. Had theſe powers continued united, Venice would have been infallibly ruined; but Julius II. wanted only to make his own advantage of the opportunity, being fully reſolved, if poſſible, afterwards to rid Italy of thoſe foreigners, whom he ſtyled barbarians; and could any dependence be put on the faith of Ferdinand the Catholic?

Venice refuſes the aid of the Turk.

This league, formed to gratify the views of ambition, was covered with the maſk of religion; the confederates pretending, that the attack upon Venice was only a prelude to their ſignalizing their zeal againſt the Turks. The grand ſignior, therefore, offered aſſiſtance to the republic; but ſhe refuſed it, probably leſs from any apprehenſion of having ſo dangerous a protector, though this be alledged by Fra Paolo, than from a dread of the clamours which would be raiſed by ſuch an alliance.

Louis XII. forces the Venetians to humble themſelves.

Louis XII. who was to begin the war in perſon, ſo humbled the Venetians by his firſt ſucceſſes, that after the battle of Agnadelloa, near the Adda, which was followed by rapid conqueſts, the ſenate offered to acknowledge the emperour for their liege lord, and to pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thouſand ducats. But Maximilian refuſed their offer; and, reviving their courage by driving them to deſpair, they retook from the Germans a great number of places, at the ſame time that they entered into a negotiation with Julius II. to whoſe intereſted policy they at laſt owed their preſervation.

1510. Julius II. betrays the allies, detaches Ferdinand from the league, and takes Mirandola by aſſault.

He had thundered againſt them the moſt violent anathemas, by which he even gave permiſſion to ſeize their property and enſlave their perſons; nor could they obtain abſolution, which their circumſtances rendered neceſſary, except by the ceſſion of the towns of Romagna, and ſubmiſſion to the dictates of the pontiff.

The

The ſenate, ſeeing only this humiliating means of preſervation, ſubmiſſively complied with all his demands; upon which Julius, breaking his engagement with the allies, detached the king of Spain from their league, by giving him the full and entire inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples, and turned all the activity of his hatred againſt the king of France. Louis, by an ill judged economy, having refuſed to augment the penſions of the Swiſs, of whom, in an emotion of anger, he had even ſpoken with contempt, the pope armed them againſt him, attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France, laid ſiege to Mirandola, and entered it by the breach, after having expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, though in a very advanced age.

Pernicious ſcruples in France.

While Julius was openly acting like an enemy, the king conſulted the clergy of France, to know whether it was lawful to make war upon him. Such a conſultation was undoubtedly ſuperfluous; but, at leaſt, the anſwer of the clergy was juſt and favourable. Yet the ſcruples of the queen, Anne of Bretagne, were prejudicial; becauſe the king paid more regard to them than they deſerved. The battle of Ravenna, gained by Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, in 1512, procured the nation only fruitleſs glory. The Milaneſe was evacuated, and Genoa immediately revolted. The troops were not paid, and the generals were at variance. In ſuch circumſtances, what ſucceſs could attend the French, notwithſtanding their heroic volour? Bayard and his imitators did wonders, but they only ſerved to raiſe admiration.

Loſs of the Milaneſe and Genoa.

Council of Piſa againſt the pope.

The king of France and the emperor had prevailed upon ſome cardinals to aſſemble a general council at Piſa; and Julius II. was ſummoned to appear before it. But he aſſembled another council at Rome to anathematize the former, which occaſioned the loſs of Navarre to John d'Albret, the ally and couſin of Louis XII. Ferdinand the Catholic wanted a pretence to ſtrip him of his dominions, and found one in the ex-

1512. Ferdinand uſurps

communication

communication publiſhed againſt the adherents of the council of Piſa. It is believed that the pope had beſtowed that kingdom upon him by bull; and, though that bull be not extant, it appears worthy of a rival of Gregory VII. From the time of Ferdinand's uſurpation, Navarre has continued part of the Spaniſh monarchy. Queen Catharine de Foix ſaid to her huſband John d'Albret, when ſpeaking on that ſubject—*Had you been born Catharine, and I don John, we ſhould not have loſt our kingdom.*

Navarre, in virtue of an excommunication.

Julius II. died in 1513, above ſeventy years of age; and, to the laſt moment of his life, was employed in the great deſign of driving all ſtrangers out of Italy, Germans and Spaniards, as well as French. Equally ſucceſsful and bold in his enterpriſes, he had conſiderably increaſed the dominions of the Holy See, having obliged the emperour to cede Parma, Placentia, and Reggio. He had the art of uniting and dividing the potentates, as was moſt ſubſervient to his own intereſt. In a word, he ſhone in the character of a prince and a warrior, and ſeemed to forget that he was a pope. An anecdote is related of him, which will ſhew in what light he viewed eccleſiaſtical affairs. The Germans, it is ſaid, requeſting permiſſion to eat fleſh on the feaſt of St. Martin, when it fell on a meagre day; he granted it, on condition that, upon that day, they ſhould taſte no wine.

Death of Julius II.

Succeſs of his enterpriſes.

The cardinal Medici, ſeverely cenſured for his morals, and greatly to be extolled for his genius, mounted the papal throne, under the name of Leo X. He was ſon of the famous Lorenzo, and inherited the taſte of his father, but was not endowed with the qualifications of a biſhop. Yet the church never ſtood more in need of a virtuous pope, worthy to govern it. Learning and the arts deſerved protection; but eccleſiaſtical affairs required the moſt conſummate wiſdom.

He is ſucceeded by Leo X.

England had no influence in foreign affairs, during the reign of Henry VII. which laſted twenty ſix years. That prince, of an avaricious, diſtruſtful temper, and averſe

Henry VII. had ſtrengthened his authority in England.

averſe from war, accumulated riches, and ſtrengthened his authority. Two counterfeit adventurers, who were ſtirred up againſt him by his enemies, fruitleſſly attempted to ſeize the crown. The one named Simnel, a baker's ſon, after being crowned in Ireland, thought himſelf happy in receiving an employment in the king's kitchen. The other, named Perkin, ſon of a Jew, for five years played the part of a ſon of Edward IV. and at laſt loſt his head upon a ſcaffold. When freed from theſe diſturbances, Henry, by a rigid and vigorous government, joining policy to force, encouraging the barons to ſell their lands, by that means augmenting the riches and power of the burgeſſes, weakened the great lords, and made the royal authority almoſt abſolute. His ſon Henry VIII. who ſucceeded him in 1509, will now appear upon the ſtage with great luſtre. His abilities and virtues might have rendered him glorious; but, hurried away by the violence of his paſſions, he became an example of the greateſt tyranny.

Simnel & Perkin.

Henry VIII.

In 1512, he had engaged in the league formed againſt France, by Julius II. after whoſe death it was revived under Leo X. The French had a little before retaken the Milaneſe, and were again driven out of it by the Swiſs, who reſtored Maximilian Sforza. Louis XII. then in alliance with the Venetians, was obliged at once to oppoſe the pope, the emperour, the Engliſh, and the Spaniards. On one ſide, Henry VIII. invaded Picardy, in conjunction with Maximilian, all whoſe expenſes, even thoſe of his table, were defrayed by the king of England; and, after gaining the victory of Guinegate, took Terouane and Tournay; while, on the other ſide, the Swiſs laid ſiege to Dijon. That city would have been loſt, had not its governour la Tremouille prevailed upon the Swiſs to raiſe the ſiege, by promiſing that all their demands ſhould be ſatisfied; upon which they concluded a treaty, and retired: but the court affected to blame the governour; and, having taken proper precautions againſt a new invaſion, annulled

League againſt Louis XII.

Invaſion of Picardy and Burgundy.

Dijon.

led a treaty of which it had already reaped the advantage. Thoſe fierce mountaineers, who ſtyled themſelves protectors of the Holy See, were much better ſoldiers than politicians.

1514. Louis concludes a peace with the pope and the king of England.

But an accommodation being neceſſary, Louis XII. humbled himſelf before the pope, renounced the council of Piſa, which had been transferred to Lyons, and even engaged to levy war, if neceſſary, againſt its adherents; by which means he was in appearance reconciled to Rome. He found leſs difficulty in gaining the king of England, who was irritated by the treachery of Ferdinand. His wife, Anne of Bretagne, being dead, he married Mary, ſiſter of Henry VIII. but he in a manner purchaſed that match by the payment of a million of gold crowns; ſo critical was the ſituation of his affairs. Louis forgot his age of fifty three, in the arms of a young queen, and ſhortened his days by his pleaſures. He died the year following, ſtill taken up with the project of recovering the Milaneſe; a deſign which we ſhall ſee more fatal to his ſucceſſor.

His death.

Beneficence and errours of Louis XII.

The memory of Louis XII. will always be bleſſed, becauſe he diminiſhed the old taxes one half, and never laid on any new, notwithſtanding his wars and ill ſucceſſes. What he ſaid in vindication of his economy will be always praiſed:—*I had rather ſee the courtiers laugh at my avarice, than my people weep on account of my expenſes.* But ought he not to have ſpared his people the ſhedding of many tears, either by ſacrificing to them his dangerous ambition of making conqueſts in Italy, or by raiſing ſubſidies, without which he muſt neceſſarily expect a reverſe of fortune? He procured ſome ſupply by the ſale of offices; which was a very dangerous example, though it did not extend to thoſe of judicature. It was not imagined that employments, which ſuppoſe ſo great knowledge and ſo many virtues in thoſe who hold them, could ever become venal. Yet we ſhall ſee that this really happened in the very beginning of the next reign. In matters that concern the

the revenue eſpecially, one abuſe almoſt always draws after it others of more pernicious tendency.

CHAP. VII.

Beginning of the Reign of Francis I. *to the Riſe of Lutheraniſm.*

1515. Francis I. gives himſelf up to a paſſion for conqueſts.

LOUIS XII. was ſucceeded by Francis, count of Angoulême, firſt prince of the blood; and this monarch, young, high ſpirited, brave and ambitious, but deſtitute of prudence, immediately turned his views upon Italy. The preparations already made not being ſufficient, he was prompted, by want of money, to ſet to ſale the moſt venerable of all rights, that of ſitting in judgment on the lives and properties of the ſubjects. This expedient, which was contrived even by the man who preſided over the diſtribution of juſtice, the Chancellor du Prat, was ſo contrary to all principles, that, ſo long after as the year 1597, the parliament exacted an oath of the new members, that they had not purchaſed their offices. Thus was perjury in a manner made a neceſſary requiſite for diſtributing juſtice in the courts! To ſuch extremities may the abuſes of government lead mankind!

Odious venality of offices.

Battle of Marignano againſt the Swiſs.

Francis I. after paſſing the Alps, found an unforeſeen opportunity of ſignalizing his valour. Though he had entered into a negotiation with the Swiſs, that warlike nation had taken up arms againſt him at the inſtigation of the cardinal of Sion, that is, of the court of Rome; but he defeated them at the celebrated battle of Marignano, which laſted two days. It is a fact atteſted by all hiſtorians, that he ſlept upon the carriage of a gun at fifty paces diſtance from a Swiſs battalion. But they take ſufficient care to diſplay the hero; we ſhall more frequently remark his errours, becauſe they afford more inſtruction.

inſtruction. This victory was followed by the conqueſt of the Milaneſe; and Maximilian Sforza, as well as his father Lodovico, ended his days in France. But, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, that country was fatal to the French.

1516. Death of Ferdinand the Catholic.

In 1516, Spain loſt Ferdinand the Catholic, whom we ſhall ſee ſucceeded by the formidable Charles V. If the glory of ſovereigns is to be eſtimated by their abilities and good fortune, there are few who can be compared to Ferdinand. To him the Spaniſh monarchy is indebted for its grandeur. He is even ſaid to have formed a project for univerſal empire; and his ſucceſſor made the world dread its being carried into execution. But is the art of deceiving, which he practiſed as much as that of conquering, worthy of a great man? Were not his enterpriſes rendered more odious by the religious zeal with which they were varniſhed? Is not his memory ſtained with all the blood that has been ſhed by the inquiſition?

Reproaches which he deſerves.

The Neapolitans refuſed to admit the inquiſition, notwithſtanding all his endeavours.

After the conqueſt of Naples, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to eſtabliſh in that kingdom the tribunal which the French look upon as tyrannical, and as contrary to the ſpirit of religion as to the principles of good government; but the Neapolitans, though extremely ſuperſtitious, would never ſubmit to it, and the king's zeal was obliged to be ſatisfied with the expulſion of the Jews. As he bore no affection to his grandſon Charles of Auſtria, he had deſtined Spain to Ferdinand, the younger brother of that prince; but he changed his reſolution, by the advice of his ſubjects, and united all his crowns on the ſame head; nor was Charles unworthy to bear them.

He leaves all his dominions to Charles whom he did not love.

Regency of Ximenes. He humbles the grandees.

Cardinal Ximenes, who was appointed regent of Caſtile till the arrival of the archduke, was hated by the grandees, on account of the imperious government which he exerciſed over them, and muſt have encountered a rebellion, if he had been a man of leſs abilities and courage. The malecontents one day aſked him

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what right he had to the government of Caſtile, and alledged that Ferdinand, being only adminiſtrator, could not beſtow the regency on him; but the ſole anſwer he made was, cauſing a battery of cannon to play in their preſence, adding—*Theſe are my rights, dare you conteſt them?* This miniſter humbled the nobility ſtill more by arming the burgeſſes. His auſtere and irreproachable manners, profound and elevated genius, his greatneſs of ſoul, which nothing could ſhake, his reputation and ſervices, ſcarcely balanced the hatred raiſed by the haughty ſeverity of his temper. He died in diſgrace in 1517, at the age of fourſcore, without ſeeing the new maſter of Spain.

Death of the emperour Maximilian, who aſpired to the pontificate.

Maximilian left the empire vacant by his death, which happened in 1519. This turbulent prince had been perpetually at war, though he had neither troops nor money. He had even raiſed his views to the tiara, during an illneſs of Julius II. The biſhop of Gurck was to diſtribute three hundred thouſand ducats among the cardinals, in order to purchaſe their voices; and that money was furniſhed by ſome merchants of Augſburg. But what part could he have played, had the imperial and papal powers been united in his perſon? Or would ſuch an union have been ſuffered to take place, where all ſtates were kept in motion, and formed into political confederacies? Maximilian knew that the emperours had been maſters of Rome; perhaps he had formed deſigns, in favour of his poſterity, upon that city, which is ſo tempting a bait to ambition.

Circles of Germany.

In his reign, Germany was divided into circles. There were at firſt ſix; viz. thoſe of Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, the Rhine, Suabia, and Weſtphalia; to which were afterwards added thoſe of Auſtria, Burgundy (for the Low Countries) the Lower Rhine, and Upper Saxony. This diſtribution was particularly advantageous for the collection of the public monies. An attempt was likewiſe made to eſtabliſh order and tranquillity; but the abuſes of anarchy, in one word,

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the feudal government was, for a long time after this, to make that part of Europe a theatre of diſturbances, diſcords, and civil wars.

Imperial Chamber.

In 1495, a diet, aſſembled at Worms, erected the *Imperial Chamber*, which is now fixed at Wetzlar. This tribunal is ſupreme, and judges civil cauſes between the ſtates, in the laſt reſort. The Aulic council, all the members of which are named by the emperour, may judge them in like manner; and the plaintiff has his choice of thoſe tribunals. But the feudal and Italian cauſes belong ſolely to the latter. However, the Germanic conſtitution, which till the treaty of Weſtphalia was irregular and uncertain, did not, even by that, acquire a perfect conſiſtency. A body divided into ſo many independent ſovereignties, where ſuch a number of particular intereſts claſh with that of the public, is little ſuſceptible of a good conſtitution.

Aulic council.

Exactions of the court of Rome in Germany.

The court of Rome ſtill tyrannized over Germany; the concordate of 1448 (under Frederic III.) however advantageous it might be to the popes, being executed only in thoſe points which turned to their advantage. The old abuſes were heightened by new exactions. According to Maximilian himſelf, the Holy See drew from the empire more than five hundred thouſand ducats annually; and that emperour choſe rather to wink at this evil, of which he complained, than to quarrel with a court whoſe inviſible arms were ſo much to be dreaded.

Critical circumſtances for the pope.

Meantime a ſtorm was gathering; men's minds were heated, and a ſpark of fanaticiſm might produce a conflagration. Leo X. with all his abilities, in ſome meaſure fanned the fire which he ought to have quenched. We ſhall ſoon ſee irreparable breaches made in the Catholic church.

1516. Concordate between Leo X. & Francis I.

In 1516, after the battle of Marignano, the pope had been artful enough to bring Francis I. againſt whom he had joined in a league, to an accommodation, on terms the moſt advantageous for the court of Rome.

The pragmatic of Charles VII. which had been ſo often anathematized, was aboliſhed by the celebrated concordate, which gives the king the nomination to the great benefices, and ſecures to the pope the annates, though it does not expreſſly mention them. The king preſents the perſons whom he has named, and the pope inſtitutes them, and receives the annate. By what right could the latter grant a nomination which did not belong to him? And for what reaſon did the former purchaſe it by making the church of France tributary? We here diſcern the fruits of the ancient abuſes. The univerſity, the clergy and parliament, defended the pragmatic with the greateſt warmth, but as much from prejudice as zeal. Above all things, they deſired to maintain the cuſtom of elections, though even theſe were liable to ſo many abuſes. The concordate was regiſtered by force in 1518, but is obſerved to this day.

CHAP. VIII.

Lutheraniſm eſtabliſhed under the Pontificate of Leo X.

Leo X. cauſes indulgences to be ſold.

LEO X. though triumphant, if I may uſe the expreſſion, over a great kingdom, was doomed to be foiled and ſtripped by a monk; and his imprudences gave birth to Lutheraniſm. The magnificent church of St. Peter, which had been begun by Julius II. the pomp and pleaſures of the Roman court, the gratifications laviſhed upon the literati and artiſts, with a thouſand other oſtentatious expenſes, having exhauſted the papal treaſury, he made no ſcruple of employing a reſource which ſuperſtition had for a long time rendered equally eaſy and profitable. Under the hackneyed pretence of a war againſt the Turks, he publiſhed indulgences to all who would contribute money; and, to the ſcandal of religion, thoſe indulgences were ſold in Germany,

Germany, even in the taverns. In particular, the Dominican Tetzel diſtinguiſhed himſelf by intolerable exceſſes.

The world was ſo much accuſtomed to abuſes, and popular credulity is ſo ſtupid, that every thing ſucceeded to the wiſh of the Roman court; when, according to the generality of hiſtorians, a quarrel between two orders of monks became the ſignal of a furious revolt. The Dominicans had been commiſſioned by the pope to preach up the indulgences, and they acquitted themſelves in the uſual method, exaggerating in an abſurd manner the efficacy of thoſe ſpiritual acts of grace. The Auguſtines, envious of a preference which they imagined an infringement of their rights, were filled with reſentment againſt the preachers. Martin Luther, a learned theologian of that order, and a man of a fiery temper, who was already tinctured with bold opinions, eagerly ſeized the opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf, and in Saxony ran down the doctrines of the Dominicans reſpecting indulgences, the ill effects of which he demonſtrated; declaimed againſt the vices, frauds and extortions of the pontifical court; made himſelf be liſtened to; and was ſupported, becauſe people were weary of paying money to ſupport the luxury of Rome.

Luther boldly declaims againſt the abuſe.

Luther at firſt only attacked things really cenſurable, at the ſame time teſtifying the utmoſt reverence and ſubmiſſion to the Holy See. By proper management, he might have been gained over; and that would have been the moſt prudent method, though Leo X. was exhorted by a Dominican to perſecute him with fire and ſword. But, far from ſoothing this dangerous adverſary, he was treated with contempt, he was irritated, his audacity was inflamed by reſentment and deſpair; and, being drawn on from one object to another, after declaiming againſt abuſes, he attacked the doctrines.

Inſtead of being ſoothed, he is imprudently irritated.

According to him, indulgences were follies, purgatory a fable, the pontifical power an uſurpation; the monaſtic vows, the greateſt part of the ceremonies and

He no longer keeps any meaſures.

ſacraments, ſo many monſtrous ſuperſtitions. He poured out a torrent of reproaches, which were ſtill taken for reaſons; inculcated the moſt rigid morality, which always added the greateſt weight to his doctrines; held out the ſcriptures as the ſole rule of faith, notwithſtanding the contrary ſenſes in which they have been frequently explained; invited all Chriſtians to an examination, flattering to vanity, but of which ſo few men are capable; in a word, ſetting himſelf up for a reformer, he effected by fanaticiſm what reaſon could never have accompliſhed. *Conſubſtantiation*, which he ſubſtituted for *tranſubſtantiation*, in the doctrine of the euchariſt, is alone ſufficient to prove how badly he reaſoned.

Severe ſentence of condemnation iſſued againſt him by the pope.

In 1518, he appealed to a general council from a decree in favour of indulgences, by which the pope ſtyled himſelf the ſteward of the ſpiritual treaſure ariſing from the ſuperabundant merits of Jeſus Chriſt and the ſaints. In 1520, Leo publiſhed a bull condemning his doctrine in forty articles. One of theſe bears, that to burn heretics is acting contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit; and another, that princes and prelates would do well to ſuppreſs the wallets of the mendicants. Was it prudent to confound theſe propoſitions with hereſies? The bull not only condemned Luther's works to the flames, but commanded the extermination of him and his adherents, if he did not recant his errours in ſixty days. The ſole conſequence of the publication of this bull was, that Luther, by a ſentence of the univerſity of Wittemburg, cauſed it to be burned, together with the decretals.

His bull burned with the decretals.

Rapid progreſs of Lutheraniſm.

Two things greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the reformation; the intereſt of the princes and people, who were deſirous of ſhaking off the Romiſh yoke; and the facility of ſpreading the new opinions by help of the preſs. The church of Rome in a few years loſt Saxony, Heſſe, Brunſwick, Denmark, and Sweden. Zurich, Berne, and great part of Switzerland, adopted the

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ſentiments of Zuinglius, a pariſh prieſt of Zurich, who attacked the doctrine of the euchariſt with more boldneſs than Luther. Geneva in a ſhort time followed their example, and by changing its religion erected itſelf into a free city. We ſhall ſee England, Scotland, the Low Countries, and part of France, follow the ſtream of novelty. No revolution is more worthy of a particular examination, whether we conſider its principles or effects.

The learning of its divines greatly contributed to it.

One great advantage of the Lutheran ſect was, its being ſupported by divines who were poſſeſſed of a ſtock of literature, who underſtood the learned languages, examined the antiquities of the church, and gained the eſteem and confidence of men of underſtanding; while the populace were inflamed by enthuſiaſtics. It was an eaſy matter for them to cry down abuſes, which had been introduced into the church during a period of long and groſs ignorance, and which were unhappily defended with the ſame obſtinacy and zeal as the articles of the faith. It was ſtill more eaſy for them to diſcredit the faſhionable theology, whoſe weapons were for the moſt part only futile ſubtilties and ſtiff pedantic pride.

Eraſmus was right in his judgments.

Eraſmus himſelf, though a firm friend to the church, ridiculed the doctors of Paris, and ſome ancient ſuperſtitions. Accordingly men have not been wanting to raiſe ſuſpicions of his faith. But can it now be doubted, that we ſhould have reaped great advantage by acting in conformity to the principles of that judicious man? The innovators would have been left without any pretext for a revolt.

It is true, that a reformation was extremely difficult.

But it muſt be acknowledged, that the more a great reformation was neceſſary, the more it was difficult. Of the many examples which demonſtrate this truth, I ſhall only ſelect one. The cardinal d'Amboiſe, in quality of legate of Alexander VI. attempted to reform the religious orders, and for this purpoſe a committee of biſhops viſited the monaſteries of the Jacobines in 1503; when

when the friars had recourſe to arms, and, twelve or thirteen hundred ſcholars coming to their aſſiſtance, drove out the reformers. Nor did they find the Cordeliers more docile, though theſe did not, like the others, proceed to acts of hoſtility. The obſtacles raiſed by the court of Rome muſt have been more formidable. Yet even ſound policy required ſacrifices to be made, and efforts to be uſed; but the pope refuſed to yield the leaſt article.

But the pope was ſtrangely blinded.

Leo X. who was a man of uncommon abilities and knowledge; whoſe principal ſecretaries, Bembo and Sadolet, held a diſtinguiſhed rank in the learned world; and who, in a word, was one of the ableſt politicians of his time; ought certainly to have been ſenſible that a deſpotiſm, founded ſolely on opinion, threatened ruin, when that opinion was ſhaken by violent attacks: he ought to have ſeen, that in order to maintain the faith it was indiſpenſably requiſite to leſſen the abuſes. How could the court of Rome imagine, that when men's eyes were opened they would continue to act as if they were blind?

Reaſon was given to look upon bulls and excommunications with contempt.

That court may be ſaid to have furniſhed arms againſt itſelf. Leo approved the poem of Arioſto by a bull, and threatened all, who ſhould do any thing in prejudice of the printer, with excommunication; a ſimilar bull was iſſued by Clement VII. in favour of the immortal writings of Machiavel. And did the popes want that rigid enthuſiaſts, who had inceſſantly in their mouths the *pure goſpel*, ſhould pay reſpect to their bulls and cenſures? One of the moſt ſignal inſtances of imprudence, which has continued even to our own times, has been, that the court of Rome frequently acted in the ſame manner, as in thoſe ages when men either did not think at all, or had not learned to think juſtly.

Reaſon alone would have produced little change

When reaſon emerged from the abyſs of darkneſs, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have opened her eyes on objects that gave her diſguſt. But, cool, circumſpect, an ene-

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my to extremes, and little calculated for influencing the multitude, ſhe could only extort a ſigh from a ſmall number of enlightened men; or, at moſt, pave the way for a ſlow revolution. The philoſophers of Athens and Rome never wrought any change in the national worſhip by unveiling the abſurdities of polytheiſm. This change, therefore, was produced by other cauſes. Theology firſt traced out the plan; policy found an intereſt in it, and fanaticiſm carried it into execution. But fanaticiſm is a volcano, whoſe fires are never extinguiſhed till after dreadful eruptions.

True cauſe of the change.

Hence aroſe the invincible enthuſiaſm of the preachers and their followers. Hence afterwards ſprung the religious wars, a thouſand times worſe than all the diſorders which had raiſed ſuch loud complaints. Fanaticiſm ſoon armed the Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Schwitz, Ury, and Underwalden, againſt the other Swiſs who had ſeparated from the church of Rome. Zuinglius having been ſlain in a battle, his dead body was diſmembered and burned, as it were on purpoſe to inflame the atrocious hatred of the two parties. Fanaticiſm metamorphoſed into ſavage beaſts a great part of the German peaſants, whom it inſpired with a paſſion for a chimerical independency or equality. Muncer, their moſt formidable ringleader, periſhed on a ſcaffold, after the maſſacre of his followers. But this example did not intimidate the new ſect of Anabaptiſts, who received that name from their inſiſting on the neceſſity of a ſecond baptiſm, looking upon that of infants as null. Among them were to be no ſuperiours, no dignities, and all poſſeſſions were to be in common. Yet one of their leaders, John Boccold,* a journeyman taylor of Leyden, by ſpeaking in the name of the Lord, cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of

Fanaticiſm ſoon armed the Swiſs and the peaſants in Germany.

Anabaptiſts.

* Boccold had married fourteen wives, one of whom expreſſing ſome doubts of his pretended divine miſſion, he cut off her head, after having reproached her for this blaſphemy; and the thirteen others danced round her body with tranſports of joy. Thus we ſee that fanaticiſm at once led to debauchery and inhumanity.

of Munſter, and obſtinately held out that city againſt the biſhop and the troops of the empire; but, being at laſt obliged to ſurrender, his fleſh was torn off with red hot pincers. Almoſt all theſe mad enthuſiaſts were maſſacred, becauſe they had neither general nor diſcipline. In a word, we ſhall ſee fanaticiſm, either perſecuted or perſecuting, turn Europe into a ſlaughter houſe, and fill it with carnage, under pretence of zeal for that religion of charity which commands to love and do good to all men.

CHAP. IX.

Revolutions in the North, particularly in Sweden and Denmark.

LET us now caſt our eyes on the North, which was ſtill immerſed in barbariſm, but here preſents to us the ſpectacle of an important revolution, that by its conſequences in a ſhort time intereſted all the powers of Europe.

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, united by Margaret de Waldemar.

All the ſovereigns of theſe countries were elective, according to the ancient cuſtom of the Barbarians. In 1397, the crowns of Sweden, Denmark and Norway were united by Margaret de Waldemar, ſurnamed the Semiramis of the North. The three nations having held a common diet at Calmar, it was agreed that the king ſhould be elected in the three ſeveral kingdoms by turns, and that each nation ſhould preſerve its own laws, cuſtoms, privileges and dignities. But this union between rival and warlike kingdoms could not ſubſiſt, except under a government of the moſt conſummate wiſdom.

The union broken after her death.

No diſturbance happened during the life of Margaret, whoſe prudence and reſolution made them forget that they were under the government of a woman;

man; but after her death the national antipathies revived. The kings, contrary to the eſtabliſhed regulation, fixed their reſidence in Denmark, and Sweden and Norway were treated as provinces; upon which the former roſe in arms, and elected for her king Canutſon, great uncle of the famous Guſtavus Vaſa. Being again oppreſſed, ſhe had a little before this period ſhaken off the yoke by creating an adminiſtrator, when, in 1513, the throne of Denmark was conferred upon Chriſtian II. a tyrant capable of ſacrificing every thing to his paſſions; but who at leaſt felt by experience, that a prince cannot be the ſcourge of the people, without expoſing himſelf to be the victim of their revenge.

Chriſtian II.

Trollo, archbiſhop of Upſal, primate of Sweden, a man whom his dignity made too powerful, and his character too dangerous, being convicted of carrying on a correſpondence with Chriſtian, and depoſed by the ſenate, had recourſe to Leo X. from whom he received a bull againſt his country, and by that means ſtrengthened the cauſe of the tyrant, who notwithſtanding was unſucceſsful in his firſt expedition. But treacherouſly veiling his deſigns, he pretended to be deſirous of an accommodation, and promiſed to come to Stockholm, provided he received ſeven hoſtages; one of whom ſhould be young Guſtavus Vaſa, grand nephew of king Canutſon, who was already diſtinguiſhed for his merit and valour. But when the hoſtages were brought on board of the fleet, he carried them off priſoners, ſporting with the faith of treaties, as he did with the lives of men.

Trollo, primate of Sweden, cabals in favour of the tyrant.

Treachery of Chriſtian.

This infamous action was a prelude to the moſt horrid barbarities. Sweden was reduced to ſubjection; and Chriſtian, being crowned at Stockholm, put on the maſk of clemency, that he might exert his rage with impunity. He gave a looſe to feſtivity; and having aſſembled the principal ſenators and nobles at an entertainment, the primate Trollo ſuddenly demanded ſatisfaction in the name

The ſenate of Sweden maſſacred.

name of the pope. The guefts were feized by the miniſters of the tyrant's cruelty, put under confinement, and condemned as heretics. Erick Vaſa, father of Guſtavus, with fourſcore and fourteen ſenators, &c. were maſſacred, after a public reading of the bull of Leo; and the whole city of Stockholm was next bathed in blood. In a word, the tyranny ſeemed firmly cemented by carnage (1520). What a triumph for a king, and above all for a biſhop!

Sweden delivered by Guſtavus Vaſa.

But an avenger of the guilt appeared. Guſtavus, having eſcaped from priſon, and taken refuge in the mountains of Dalecarlia, where he concealed himſelf among the peaſants, and worked in the mines, though without any reſource but his courage, projected, and found means to bring about a revolution. Having made himſelf known, he ſoon procured a number of adherents, whom he furniſhed with arms, and triumphed over every obſtacle. Part of Sweden was recovered from the Danes, ſo early as in 1521.

Cruel revenge of the tyrant.

Chriſtian gratified his revenge, by cauſing the mother and ſiſter of that hero to be drowned. Equally deſtitute of prudence and humanity, the Nero of the North (for ſo he has juſtly been ſtyled) did not perceive that the more he rendered himſelf odious, the more precipices he dug under his own feet.

Chriſtian dethroned by the Danes, in conſequence of a ſentence of the ſenate.

His own ſubjects, irritated by his oppreſſions, thought themſelves authorized to ſhake off a yoke which they could no longer bear with patience, and depoſed him in 1523; when Munce, the chief juſtice of Jutland, boldly entered his preſence, and gave him notice of the act which deprived him of the crown. That magiſtrate, boaſting of an action which diſplayed ſuch extraordinary courage, ſaid—*My name ought to be written on the palace gates of all bad princes.* Chriſtian could never be reſtored by Charles V. his father in law. His uncle, Frederic, duke of Holſtein, was elected king of Denmark, and Guſtavus Vaſa king of Sweden.

In

In theſe kingdoms, a change of religion ſoon after took place; which was the more remarkable, as it was effected almoſt without diſturbance or conſtraint. Leo's bull, which had ſerved as a pretext to ſo many acts of horrour; the traffic of indulgences carried on by the nuncio Arcemboldi, the profits of which are ſaid to have amounted to near two millions of florins, notwithſtanding the poverty of the country; the exceſſive riches of the clergy, and the dominion which they exerciſed over the people; the uſurpations of the biſhops, who had even got moſt of the ſtrong places of the kingdom into their hands, were ſo many concurring cauſes that prompted every man, who opened his eyes on the abuſes, to deſire a reformation. Guſtavus and Frederic artfully promoted Lutheraniſm, without ſeeming to be determined in its favour. The clergy put themſelves in motion; but this ſerved as an additional reaſon for completing the change. At laſt, the ſtates of Denmark, and even the church of Sweden, ſolemnly embraced the doctrine of Luther; and the people in a ſhort time modelled their belief on that of their leaders, nearly as in the times when Chriſtianity was introduced among the barbarians. Guſtavus died in 1560. His government had been abſolute; but Sweden was not on that account leſs happy under his dominion.

Change of religion in the North eaſily effected.

It would be ſuperfluous to enter into particulars with regard to Muſcovy and Poland. The firſt was at that time almoſt unknown, though the czar, John Baſilowitz I. had conquered the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan; nor did it emerge from obſcurity till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when we ſhall ſee a great prince, bleſſed with a creative genius, give birth to a regular police and the fine arts in that country. The ſecond, ſunk in equal darkneſs, was the theatre of anarchy. Ladiſlas, the firſt of the Jagellons, was elected king in 1382, and the crown continued hereditary in his family for ſeveral generations; but, having neither the diſpoſal of the public money, nor the command

Muſcovy and Poland.

The Jagellons.

mand of the army, the kings never could be regarded but as the chiefs of a republic, where the want of laws and ſubordination rendered it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a rational ſyſtem of government. Indeed, how could Poland have a ſhadow of it, while the *veto* of any ſingle nobleman might prevail againſt all their ſuffrges, as we ſee to be the caſe even at this day; while the whole body of the people, enſlaved by the nobility, had no other ſentiment but that of its own low and miſerable condition; while a nobleman who had murdered one of his *ſerfs* was quit for laying a few crowns upon the grave? Such abuſes, having taken deep root in a ſucceſſion of many centuries, neceſſarily perpetuated the miſeries of a nation; till extraordinary events overturned the whole, in order to bring about an entire renovation.

Poliſh government abounds in faults.

The Teutonic order having ſubdued Pruſſia, under pretence of deſtroying Paganiſm, and oppreſſed it by acts of injuſtice, that country had revolted in the middle of the fifteenth century, and put itſelf under the protection of Poland, which occaſioned bloody wars. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand maſter of the order, having embraced Lutheraniſm, and being deſirous to aggrandize himſelf at the expenſe of the knights, made a partition of Pruſſia with his uncle Sigiſmond, king of Poland, on condition of doing homage to that crown (1525). This gave riſe to the diſtinction between Royal and Ducal Pruſſia. The deſcendants of Albert have preſerved the latter, which was freed from vaſſalage in 1657, and erected into a kingdom at the beginning of this century. What a low original for a ſtate, which we ſee ſo powerful under a great monarch! Its foundations may be ſaid to have been laid by Luther.

Pruſſia under the Teutonic order.

Albert of Brandenburg makes a partition of it with the king of Poland.

TENTH

TENTH EPOCHA.

CHARLES *the* FIFTH *Emperour.*—POWER *of the* HOUSE *of* AUSTRIA.—COUNCIL *of* TRENT.

[From the Year 1519 to near 1560.]

CHAP. I.

Election of Charles V.—*His Wars, to the Battle of Pavia.*

Idea of this epocha.

THE principal cauſes which render this epocha ſo intereſting are, grand ſchemes of policy and ambition; continual wars, from which we ſhall ſee others take their riſe; abſolute monarchs, whoſe caprices determined the fate of nations; an overgrown power ready to ſubdue Europe and America; a new religion rending the church, and violently breaking the papal yoke; a thirſt for riches, inflamed by the gold of the New World; and the cultivation of genius, which at firſt was productive of more miſchief than real advantage. The moſt remarkable events preſented to us in the hiſtory of the laſt ages, originated from the grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria under Charles V.

Qualities of Charles V.

That prince, who was born at Ghent in 1500, to the archduke Philip, ſon of the emperour Maximilian, by Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, poſſeſſed every qualification proper to ſupport the firſt part in the great theatre of the world. He was brave, active, aſſiduous, prudent, and endowed with a vaſt genius, cultivated by ſtudy and exerciſe; but to theſe he unhappily joined a boundleſs ambition, and that crafty policy which had been reduced into a ſyſtem by his grandfather Ferdinand.

Having

King of Spain in 1516.

Having aſcended the throne of Spain in 1516, he at firſt was obliged to ſtruggle with the rage of thoſe ſtorms, which almoſt always break out under new governments. A Flemiſh archbiſhop of Toledo, and Flemiſh miniſters, who were entruſted with the whole authority, became objects of hatred to the Spaniards. Aſſociations were formed in the provinces; and the cardinal Adrian, preceptor to the king, who was named to the regency of Caſtile, a man of virtue, but far from poſſeſſing a genius equal to that office, increaſed the ferment inſtead of appeaſing it. In 1522, the holy *league* (which was the name aſſumed by the Caſtilian rebels) ſent to the king demands almoſt equally ſtrong and bold with thoſe of the Engliſh commons under the Stuarts, and the ſpirit of liberty kindled a furious civil war. Padilla, general of the league, having been defeated, made priſoner, and executed, his widow, Maria Pacheco, defended Toledo like a heroine, till the clergy, enraged that ſhe had ſtripped the churches in order to defray the expenſes of the war, ſtirred up the people againſt her, by repreſenting her as a ſorcereſs. Theſe troubles continued till 1522, when they were quieted by the preſence of Charles. *Too much blood is ſpilt*, ſaid he, after having made ſome examples. An amneſty granted to the rebels was more effectual than ſeverities, and the king ſtrengthened his authority by clemency. Some of his courtiers acquainting him with the place where one of the principal malecontents was concealed, he humanely replied—*You ought to warn him that I am here, rather than inform me where he is.*

Revolt prudently appeaſed.

1519. Charles elected emperour, in preference to Francis I.

Spain, the Two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and Franche Comté, were already under the dominion of Charles, when the death of Maximilian, who a little before had cauſed him to be elected king of the Romans, opened for him a way to the empire. Francis I. who was ſix years older than he, and more celebrated for his warlike exploits, likewiſe intrigued for the imperial crown. The power of each of the competitors

gave

gave juſt apprehenſion to the Germans, who were jealous of their liberties; but the votes were purchaſed. The Spaniſh ambaſſadour had two thouſand marks of gold to diſtribute. Beſides, Selim I. ſultan of the Turks, after the reduction of Syria, Meſopotamia and Egypt, threatened Europe, and a powerful emperour was neceſſary to ſtop his progreſs. Yet Frederic the Wiſe, elector of Saxony, celebrated for his protection of Luther, was the perſon pitched upon; but he refuſed the crown, and fixed the votes in favour of Charles V. thinking Francis I. leſs worthy of preference, as being a foreigner, and more to be dreaded, as his dominions bordered upon Germany.

Capitulation which he is obliged to ſign.

Care was taken to make Charles ſign a capitulation for the maintenance of the liberties and rights of the Germanic body, which expreſſly ſtipulates, that the empire ſhall not be hereditary; yet it has invariably continued in the houſe of Auſtria. Under a too formidable head, the empire would unqueſtionably have become an abſolute monarchy, had it not been for the intereſt of the reſt of Europe to oppoſe ſuch a revolution.

He does not ſend an ambaſſadour to promiſe obedience to the court of Rome.

From the time of Otho IV. it had been a cuſtom for the new emperours to ſend an embaſſy to Rome, giving notice of their election, and paying *obeiſance* to the pope; but Charles V. diſpenſed himſelf from the obſervation of this cuſtom, and his example has been too powerful for the pretenſions of the Holy See; for frequently no more is neceſſary to aboliſh long cuſtoms founded only on appoſite examples.

Yet he afterwards held the bridle and ſtirrup of the pope.

Yet this haughty ſovereign, the maſter of ſo many ſtates, and who firſt aſſumed the title of majeſty, held the bridle and ſtirrup to the pope, when he was crowned by Adrian VI. at Bologna, in 1530; and the ſame day was admitted canon of the two principal churches in Rome. This world is almoſt only a maſs of contradictions.

Rivalſhip between Charles & Francis.

Though the kings of France and Spain had carried on their competition for the empire with all the exter-

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nal appearances of mutual friendſhip, yet the preference given to one neceſſarily exaſperated the other, eſpecially as their rivalſhip was not limited to this object. Henry VIII. king of England, was powerful enough to hold the balance between them, and policy ſeemed to dictate that meaſure; but his own paſſions, and thoſe of his miniſters, made him relinquiſh a ſyſtem by which he would have acquired ſo great glory. We ſhall find this prince committing perpetual errours, becauſe his conduct was directed ſolely by caprice.

Wolſey miniſter of England.

He was at that time governed by Wolſey, who, though the ſon of a butcher, had been promoted to the archbiſhopric of York, with ſeveral other ſees; was cardinal, legate, chancellor, and gained an abſolute aſcendant over the king's counſels, by flattering his inclinations and ſharing his pleaſures, in order to lead him as he pleaſed. Though poſſeſſed of revenues almoſt equal to thoſe of the crown, yet he was ſtill equally inſatiable and laviſh; in a word, he was one of thoſe men who employ their ſuperiour genius in putting the world into commotion in order to gratify their own ambition. England acted as the intereſt of Wolſey directed.

Gained by the emperour and king of France in their turns.

The king of France had gained him by flattery, and even obtained from him the reſtitution of Tournay, as the portion of the princeſs Mary, who had been promiſed to the dauphin. The dauphin and the princeſs were ſtill infants: ſuch uncertain marriages often made the baſis of treaties. Francis, projecting a war againſt the emperour, and deſirous of having Henry VIII. for his ally, propoſed to him an interview at Calais. Charles, ſtill more artful, went to pay Henry a viſit at Dover, where, by his careſſes and a promiſe of the tiara, he gained Wolſey to his party. The celebrated interview at Calais, which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, ended only in a ruinous oſtentation of magnificence. The time was paſſed in feſtivals, and nothing concluded. The emperour afterwards received a viſit from Henry at Gravelines, and there

there completed his design, by conferring on Wolsey the revenues of two bishoprics in Spain.

Leo X. on his side, maintained between those rivals an artful conduct, in which the interest of the papacy prevailed over the public weal. His great object was the recovery of Parma and Placentia, the possession of Ferrara, and the expulsion of foreigners from Italy, after having made them instruments of his own aggrandizement. He had opposed the election of Charles V. under pretext of a law enacted by Clement IV. excluding the kings of Naples from the empire. He then promised him the investiture of that kingdom, soon after entered into the views of Francis I. and again sided with Charles V. In a word, that party from which he could draw the greatest advantage had in his eyes the justest cause; and the whole political system of the Roman court was limited to the art of sowing divisions and amassing money.

Variable policy of Leo X.

The war was soon lighted up. Henry d'Albret, taking advantage of the disturbances in Spain, and the absence of the Austrian monarch, with the assistance of a French army, recovered Navarre, which had been wrested from his family, and which Charles still held, though he had promised to restore it by the treaty of Noyon, concluded in 1516. But the French imprudently invading Castile, the Spaniards then united against them, and drove them out of Navarre almost the moment they had conquered it. Robert de la Marc, duke of Bouillon, having dared to declare war against the emperour, the latter declared it against the king of France, whom he with reason imagined to be the prime mover of this enterprise. Francis lost the Milanese and Genoa, by the fault of Lautrec, governour of the country, who was detested by the Italians, deserted by the Swiss, and defeated at Bicocca. But this misfortune may be principally ascribed to the king himself, and his mother, the dutchess of Angoulême, who

1521. Navarre taken and retaken.

France loses the Milanese and Genoa.

who diſſipated the money that ought to have paid the troops.

Misfortunes cauſed by the pleaſures and diſſipations of the court.

The misfortunes of Francis I. were principally owing to his being as fond of pleaſure as of war, and entirely unacquainted with that economy which is ſo neceſſary even in peace. It coſt the life of Samblançai, ſuperintendant of the finances, who was hanged, as if he had been obliged to work miracles.

Adrian VI. ſucceeds Leo X.

In the mean time died Leo X. at the age of forty four; and Charles V. who wanted a pope whom he could direct as he pleaſed, cauſed his preceptor to be elected. The reſentment of Wolſey was to be dreaded; but Adrian being far advanced in years, the emperour ſoothed the Engliſh miniſter with the hopes of ſucceeding; and, having taken a voyage to England, at laſt engaged Henry VIII. to join in the war. Vigilant, indefatigable, managing his negotiations in perſon, and with great ſkill, what advantages had he not over an enemy who thought only of his pleaſures? Nothing but the claſh of arms ſeemed capable of rouſing Francis I.

Charles gains over Wolſey a ſecond time.

Conduct of the new pope.

The new pope ſhewed his gratitude by aboliſhing the tribute of eight thouſand ounces of gold, which was paid by the kingdom of Naples, and by granting to the crown of Spain the right of preſentation to biſhoprics, together with the perpetual adminiſtration of the grand military commanderies. He owed his fortune to letters, as Leo X. was indebted to them for his glory. He is reproached with having forgotten them on the papal throne. But, in fact, what was his learning? Scholaſtic philoſophy and theology; at moſt a pedantic erudition. Without taſte, without genius, auſtere, harſh, and parſimonious to an extreme, is it ſurpriſing that men of learning did not find in him a Medici?

Grand confederacy againſt France.

Franciſco Sforza had already recovered Milan, becauſe the Swiſs, for want of pay, refuſed to ſerve; and a ſtrong confederacy was formed to cruſh Francis I. The pope, the emperour, the king of England, the archduke Ferdinand, to whom his brother Charles V. had ceded

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the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; the ſtates of Milan, Venice, Florence, and Genoa, all uniting againſt a ſingle power. It is a glorious ſpectacle to behold this prince braving the ſtorm; but prudence would have been of more utility than courage, and a new fault brought the ſtate to the brink of ruin.

1523. Perſecution of the conſtable de Bourbon.

Of all men it was neceſſary to have kept fair with the conſtable de Bourbon, who was equally diſtinguiſhed by his merit and his birth. To him had been in a great meaſure owing the victory at Marignano. The dutcheſs of Angoulême, who hated him becauſe he had refuſed to marry her, ſought every opportunity of doing him an injury; and the chancellor du Prat ſerved the reſentment of that princeſs but too effectually. A claim was ſet up on the conſtable's family eſtate, and he loſt his cauſe; upon which, in a fit of deſpair, he entered into a correſpondence with the emperour. The king was informed of this, and might have ſeized his perſon, but ſuffered himſelf to be duped, and the conſtable made his eſcape. Every body knows the ſaying of a Spaniſh nobleman, whoſe palace was fixed upon for his reception—*If the conſtable lodges in my houſe, I will burn it after his departure, as a place infected with treachery.* But courts are ſeldom guided dy thoſe noble ſentiments which tend to the beneficial purpoſe of bringing a diſgrace upon villainy; treachery is honoured when it is found advantageous.

He ſides with Charles V.

Bonnivet defeated in Italy.

To the great generals of Charles V. Bourbon, Peſcara, and John Medici, the king of France only oppoſed the admiral Bonnivet, a man whoſe ſole merit was his favour at court, with forces too much inferiour to thoſe of the enemy. The event was ſuch as might be expected; no ſolid ſucceſs, and conſiderable loſſes. The battle of Biagraſſa or Rebecca is leſs celebrated for the defeat of the French than for the death of Bayard, the model of knights. At his death he replied to the marks of pity ſhewn him by the duke of Bourbon, with theſe

Death of the chevalier Bayard.

theſe words—*It is you who ought to be pitied for fighting againſt your king, your country, and your oaths.*

Siege of Marſeilles raiſed.

At leaſt the French defended themſelves glorioufly in their own country, though attacked on every ſide. Bourbon himſelf, whom the emperour and Henry VIII. were deſirous of making king of Provence, miſcarried in the ſiege of Marſeilles, which had been ordered by Charles V. that he might be maſter of a ſeaport in France. Peſcara commanded the army, but all operations were to be directed by the counſels of Bourbon: perhaps their mutual diſguſt and rivalſhip prevented the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe.

New faults committed by Francis I.

The confidence of Francis I. ſeemed to increaſe with his dangers, and his faults with his confidence. He flew into Italy, again entered the Milaneſe, and without difficulty retook the capital. But the imprudent Bonnivet was the only perſon liſtened to. The ſiege of Pavia was carried on with obſtinacy; and a conſiderable detachment was ſent againſt the kingdom of Naples. The enemy advanced; and Francis being aſhamed to retreat, it was reſolved to venture a battle, though there was no poſſibility of conquering. Accordingly he was attacked, wounded, taken priſoner, and his army cut in pieces. Bourbon, who had a little before raiſed twelve thouſand Germans (for the emperour could not pay them, his authority not being ſufficiently abſolute to levy new taxes) enjoyed the gloomy pleaſure of revenge. Bonnivet, the cauſe of the diſaſter, had ruſhed upon his death in the engagement. Francis I. ſaid in a letter to the dutcheſs of Angoulême, his mother—*Every thing is loſt, except our honour.* Is the honour of a king then confined to fighting a battle?

1525. Battle of Pavia, where he was taken priſoner.

It was the fruit of inexcuſable temerity.

His temerity will appear ſtill more inexcuſable, if we conſider the circumſtances. The treaſury was entirely exhauſted, and he had even been obliged to ſell a grate of maſſy ſilver, with which Louis XI. had enriched the tomb of St. Martin. It was a great deal to defend the kingdom; carrying the war abroad was expoſing it more

more to an attack; and the loſs of a battle might be attended with dreadful conſequences. On the other hand, the enemy, being likewiſe in want of money, muſt naturally be weakened and and diſguſted, and their league diſſolve of itſelf. Several ſtates beheld the enormous power of the emperour with uneaſineſs. Wolſey, in particular, was certainly deſirous of a change, having now been twice duped by his promiſes, as Adrian was ſucceeded by Clement VII. of the houſe of Medici. The king therefore ought to have ſtood on the defenſive, and negotiated, inſtead of indulging airy viſions of glory and conqueſt: on the contrary, he had in a manner precipitated himſelf into misfortune; and, had it not been for the reſolution, dexterity and prudent meaſures of his mother, who was become regent, the ſtate muſt naturally have ſunk under its enemies; but ſhe took every precaution, and entered into negotiations in order to divide the confederates.

League againſt the emperour.

Nor was it long before they diſcovered their ſentiments with regard to Charles V. Clement VII. the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, entered into a league to deprive him of Naples, which they deſtined for the Marquis of Peſcara. This general entered into the plot, after it had been determined by ſome caſuiſts, that a ſubject might take arms againſt his prince, when commanded by the lord paramount of whom the kingdom was held; but whether from inconſtancy, remorſe, or deſpair of ſucceſs, he revealed the whole project to the emperour; upon which Sforza was declared a rebel, and, as ſuch, deprived of the Milaneſe.

Alliance with England broken.

In the courſe of theſe intrigues, the alliance with England was broken. Charles, elated with his ſucceſs, hurt Henry's vanity, by diſcontinuing to write to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribe himſelf *Your affectionate ſon and couſin:* nor had Wolſey his perſonal revenge leſs at heart. The court of London was determined by petty motives to meaſures which ſound policy would

would at firſt have dictated; and took into her hands the balance which her caprice had given up to chance.

CHAP. II.

Treaty of Madrid not executed.—Treaty of Cambray.—Divorce of Henry VIII. *and Schiſm of England.*

Conditions preſcribed by Charles V. to Francis I.

CHARLES, notwithſtanding his victory at Pavia, did not invade France. He put on an hypocritical air of modeſty, and yet wanted to preſcribe intolerable conditions to the captive king. He demanded the dutchy of Burgundy for himſelf; Provence and Dauphiny, with the title of king, for the duke of Bourbon; the provinces formerly recovered from the Engliſh, for Henry VIII. and, in the laſt place, a full renunciation of the claims upon Italy. But Francis replied, that he would ſooner die in priſon than diſmember his kingdom; and that beſides, even if he was mean ſpirited enough to make ſuch an agreement, it would never be conſented to by his ſubjects. But, tired with a ſevere confinement, where his vexation had thrown him into a mortal diſeaſe, he bowed his haughty ſpirit and his conſcience to the circumſtances; perſuading himſelf that forced promiſes were not binding, or at leaſt, that he could elude their performance. He engaged, by the treaty of Madrid, in 1526, to cede the dutchy of Burgundy, and to put himſelf again into the hands of the emperour, if it was not delivered up in ſix weeks; for the performance of which the king's two eldeſt ſons were given in hoſtage.

1526. Treaty of Madrid.

This treaty not executed.

Scarce was he at liberty, when he formed a league with the pope, the king of England, and the Venetians, to maintain the liberty of Italy, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe to that very Franciſco Sforza, whom he had attempted to drive out. The pope abſolved

ſolved him from his oaths, and not a ſingle article of the treaty of Madrid was executed. The ſtates of Burgundy, in concert with the court, declared that the king could not alienate his domain, and that their province ſhould not be transferred to a foreign power. Francis I. refuſed to return into Spain, complaining of his enemy's unjuſt treatment, and offered to ranſom his children; but he burned with deſire to avenge his injuries, and repair his misfortunes. Thus the emperour had at once the mortification of failing in his politics, and ſhewing a want of generoſity.

1527. Bourbon lays ſiege to Rome.

His general, the duke of Bourbon, to whom he had promiſed the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, not being able to complete that conqueſt for want of money, and ſeeing a ſpirit of mutiny prevail among his ſoldiers, who were unprovided of every thing, led them to Rome, in order to ſeize the treaſures of the pope. Clement VII. a man of an irreſolute and timid character, had negotiated, and was in no expectation of a ſiege; he could therefore only have recourſe to his ſpiritual arms, and excommunicated the general and his army, calling the Spaniards Moors, and the Germans Lutherans; but, in defiance of the anathema, Bourbon gave an aſſault; and, though he was ſlain, the imperialiſts made themſelves maſters of the city, where they committed dreadful exceſſes. Not content with pillage, maſſacre, and rape, they turned the head of the church and the cardinals into deriſion, by a kind of profane maſquerade, and proclaimed Martin Luther pope. The emperour exhibited another farce in Spain: upon receiving news of the pope's captivity, inſtead of ſending orders to ſet him at liberty, he commanded proceſſions for his deliverance; and afterwards obliged him to pay a ranſom. To what purpoſe is it to play the hypocrite, when the only thing to be gained is the reputation of diſhoneſty?

It is plundered.

The emperour's hypocriſy.

Challenges and the lie mutually given by two great monarchs.

As Charles V. ſhewed himſelf obſtinately bent on enforcing the treaty of Madrid, war was declared againſt him by the king of France and Henry VIII. The lie and

and the challenges given and returned between that prince and Francis I. were indecent bravadoes. The duel was not fought; but this example no leſs promoted the falſe point of honour, and ſingle combats became more frequent than in the ages of barbariſm. Meantime Italy was a prey to the ravages of war. The French had at firſt the advantage; and Pavia was ſacked with the utmoſt cruelty, in memory of the battle which had been loſt before it.

Fatal deſertion of Andrew Doria.

Andrew Doria, a Genoeſe of diſtinction, did the French good ſervice with the gallies of his republic; but, during the ſiege of Naples, being diſcontented with the court, he ſuddenly went over to the emperour, and fortune changed with him; the old miſtakes were repeated, the army was deſtroyed by diſeaſe, and the ſiege was raiſed. This expedition, as well as ſo many others, was attended with no other fruit than the ſpilling of human blood. Doria reſtored the liberty of his country, of which he might have been ſovereign, after the expulſion of the French; but he contented himſelf with the authority given him by his merit. Almoſt no alteration was made in the ancient government, though it ſtood greatly in need of reformation.

1529. Treaty of Cambray.

At leaſt the courſe of theſe numerous calamities was ſuſpended by the treaty of Cambray, concluded for the two monarchs by two women, the dutcheſs of Angoulême, and Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low Countries. Francis I. abandoned his allies, gave up his claim on Milan, his lordſhip of Artois and Flanders, and engaged to pay two millions of gold crowns for the ranſom of his children; Charles V. beſides theſe advantages, reſerving to himſelf the power of proſecuting at law his pretenſions to Burgundy. Sforza had the Milaneſe; and, by an article of a treaty before concluded between the pope and the emperour, the Medicis were to be reinſtated in the government of Florence. The Florentines had again eſtabliſhed a republic, but, in 1530, were conſtrained by an imperial army to acknowledge Alexander Medici for their ſovereign.

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The ſtate to which France was then reduced made it impoſſible to pay the two millions of gold crowns without the aſſiſtance of England; and Henry VIII. advanced a ſum of money. Having formed a reſolution to divorce his wife, Catharine of Arragon, the emperour's aunt, he foreſaw the ſtorms to which that ſtep would expoſe him, and entered into a ſtrict union with a power of whoſe aſſiſtance he would ſoon ſtand in need. Catharine was the widow of Arthur, Henry's brother, who died ſix months after the marriage, even without having conſummated it, if we may believe public report; and Henry VII. being deſirous of preſerving to the kingdom the advantages of ſo great an alliance, had obtained from Julius II. a diſpenſation for the marriage of the princeſs with young Henry. They had been united twenty years; and the birth of ſeveral children, none of whom ſurvived except Mary, apparent heireſs of the crown, made the queen the more reſpectable, as ſhe was eminent for virtue and ſweetneſs of temper. But Henry was in love with another woman, and had no government of his paſſions.

Henry VIII. takes meaſures for a divorce.

Ann Boleyn, daughter of a private gentleman, handſome, amiable, and abounding with wit, had captivated his ſavage heart, and irritated his deſires by her reſiſtance. The violence of his paſſion perſuaded him that his marriage was null; and his oracle, St. Thomas d' Aquinas (for he piqued himſelf on his ſkill in theology) furniſhed him with proofs. From that time he employed every method to break a ſacred tie, which prevented him from purſuing his inclination. Pope Clement VII. being at war with the emperour, for ſome time appeared favourable to Henry's views. Wolſey was to judge this affair in quality of legate; and the bull of divorce was entirely ready, when a change in Clement's ſituation made him alter his ſyſtem. The credit of Charles V. carried every thing before it; and, after ſome affected delays, the pope removed the cauſe to Rome.

His paſſion for Ann Boleyn.

He is deceived by Clement VII.

Henry,

Disgrace of Wolsey.

Henry, enraged, impatient, but not yet daring to break through the obstacles, revenged himself on Wolsey, whom he suspected of having thwarted his design; dismissed that powerful minister, and afterwards solicited the opinions of the divines against the marriage which he wanted to dissolve. The universities of England, France, and Italy, determined that no dispensation could authorize the marriage of a brother with his brother's widow, because it is expressly forbidden by the law of God in Leviticus. But it is ordained in Deuteronomy, when the first husband dies without children. Doctors too often founded their decisions upon one of several contradictory authorities. Henry believed what he wanted to believe; and his conscience, or rather his passion, made him look upon the divorce as a duty that would admit no delay. He refused to appear at Rome, to which he was cited by Clement VII. divorced Catharine, and married Anne Boleyn, by whom he soon after had the celebrated Elizabeth.

The theologians approve the divorce for a bad reason.

Catharine of Arragon divorced.

Innovation in religion.

The clergy had already been forced to acknowledge him *protector and head of the church of England*; and the parliament, which he always directed at his pleasure, had retrenched a great part of the money paid to the pope. Yet the king, as strongly attached to his theological principles as to the object of his love, was startled at the very thoughts of breaking with the church of Rome. He had written against Luther, by whose contempt for Aquinas he had been particularly exasperated; and Luther had replied by a refutation filled with scurrilities, which he carried so far as to say, that the king was *more foolish than folly itself*, &c. As much as Henry was shocked with this insolence, so much was his vanity flattered by the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which he had received from Leo X. He abhorred the name of heretic, was ambitious of that of a zealous Catholic, and at last consented to abide by the sentence of the consistory, provided the imperialists were not admitted among the number of his judges. Had

Yet Henry dreaded coming to a rupture with Rome.

Rome

Rome acted with prudence, she would have triumphed over this haughty prince; but the Roman policy still trusted to the old prejudices.

1534. The schism produced by the precipitation of the pope.

Irreparable mischief was done by too much precipitation. The courier who was to bring Henry's positive answer not arriving on the day appointed, the pope confirmed the validity of his first marriage, and excommunicated him, if he did not take back his wife. Two days after, the courier presented his letter; but the court of Rome persisted in their decision; there was no remedy, and the schism was immediately completed. The king, according to the usual form, appealed to a general council. The clergy declared that the bishop of Rome had no authority in the kingdom; and the parliament granted to the sovereign the title of Supreme Head of the Church. In this quality Henry VIII. abolished the monasteries, seized their revenues, established a system of faith, and persecuted at the same time the Catholics who continued faithful in their obedience to the pope; and the heretics, infected with Lutheranism, disposing every thing according to his own opinions and caprice.

Progress of the Turks under Soliman II.

Taking of Rhodes.

Charles V. affronted in the person of his aunt, found himself surrounded with a thousand other embarrassments and vexations. The Turks and Lutherans gave him equal uneasiness. On one side, Soliman II. son of Selim I. still more formidable than his father, had taken Belgrade in 1521, and afterwards Rhodes, from whence the knights of St. John of Jerusalem had removed to Malta, and which was given them by the emperour. The same conqueror had seized a great part of Hungary in 1526. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, had been killed at the battle of Mohacz against the Turks; and the archduke Ferdinand, heir to these two kingdoms in right of his wife, had a competitor, who, having put himself under the protection of the Ottoman Porte, procured it an opportunity of making further conquests. This power became every day more

Hungary and Bohemia disputed with the archduke Ferdinand.

more formidable by its own ſtrength, as well as by the diviſions among Chriſtians. Soliman laid ſiege to Vienna in 1529; but the winter obliged him to retire, after the loſs of about ſixty thouſand men.

Progreſs of the ſects who were enemies to the church of Rome.

On the other ſide, the progreſs of the ſects, who were enemies to the Romiſh church, kept the emperour in ſuſpenſe. Though religion did not ſeem to have much influence on his conduct, which was always directed by ambition and ſelf intereſt, he ſhewed himſelf a defender of the Catholic faith; and it is conjectured, that he hoped by this means to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Germany. Let us take a ſhort view of the principal tranſactions reſpecting the Reformation, the progreſs of which it is of importance to trace, becauſe it has produced one of the greateſt revolutions in Europe. If the doctrine of the church unhappily became the ſport of the politics of princes, as of the paſſions or prejudices of ſo many private perſons, let us not loſe ſight of the original cauſe of this misfortune; let us deplore the abuſes which have obſcured the truth itſelf, and learn how eſſential it is to ſupport religion by the practice of virtue and wiſdom.

CHAP. III.

Affairs of Lutheraniſm from the Time of the Diet of Worms.—The Turks defeated by Charles V.

Diet of Worms, before which Luther appears.

IN 1521, the diet of Worms, after eſtabliſhing a council of regency during the emperour's abſence, ſummoned before them Luther, who had been already excommunicated by Leo X. Having received a ſafe conduct, he appeared without heſitation, and loudly refuſed to retract till his errours were demonſtrated to him. Had the counſel of ſome eccleſiaſtics prevailed, this innovator would have undergone the ſame fate as John

John Huſs; but, though he was ſuffered to depart, a ſevere ſentence was publiſhed a few days after, ordering him to be ſeized as ſoon as his ſafe conduct expired. This blow was prevented by the elector of Saxony, who ordered him to be ſeized in a foreſt, and ſhut up in a caſtle, where he continued nine months, without its being known where he was. In this retirement, he began a tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures; with which few works have been of equal utility to the ſectaries, as by giving the ſacred text a ſenſe favourable to their own ſyſtem, they from thence drew arguments, which the people of that age had not knowledge enough ſolidly to refute.

In what manner he eſcaped the Catholics.

As the ſentence of Worms was not executed, and Lutheraniſm daily made greater progreſs, Adrian VI. a man of rigid morals, and inflexible in his theological principles, addreſſed a brief to the diet of Nuremberg in 1524, by which he recommended the greateſt extremities againſt Luther. What is very remarkable, this pope at the ſame time acknowledged, that the evil originated from the corruption of the Romiſh court, promiſed to remedy the abuſes, and even conſulted the diet on the moſt proper means for the extirpation of hereſy; but the zeal of the Germans did not, on this occaſion, correſpond with Adrian's views. They repreſented, that it was impoſſible to take violent meaſures againſt Luther, conſidering the number of his followers, and propoſed a general council, as the moſt efficacious and neceſſary remedy; at the ſame time ſending a liſt of a hundred grievances againſt the court of Rome, containing all the enormities with which ſhe had been ſo often reproached; her exactions, uſurpations, injuſtice, and ſcandals of every ſpecies; concluding, that if theſe were not ſpeedily redreſſed by the Holy See, they would uſe their own authority to free themſelves from ſuch intolerable burdens. The acknowledgments of the pope, and the hundred grievances of the diet, were matter of triumph to Lutheraniſm; and had Charles V. declared

Adrian VI. exhorts the people to proſecute him, and makes ſome extraordinary acknowledgments.

Remarkable conduct of the diet of Nuremberg.

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in its favour, all Germany would probably ſoon have changed its religion.

Luther marries Catharine Bore.

Luther's marriage with Catharine Bore, a nun, whom he had taken out of a cloiſter, excited new clamours againſt him, and appeared indecent even to his friends, though conformable to the principles of his ſect. This example was imitated by great numbers, which gave occaſion to the jeſt of Eraſmus—*People are wrong in ſaying, that Lutheraniſm has ſomething tragical in it: for my part, I think it has more of the comic, for it always ends in a marriage.* Luther, though ſenſible to reproaches, yet was unſhaken in his deſigns; and continued to write, preach, increaſe the number of his followers, and repel the ſhafts of his adverſaries, his courage being whetted by the diſtinguiſhed part he played in the world.

Progreſs of the Reformation during the war between the emperour and Clement VII.

The war between the emperour and Clement VII. neceſſarily favoured the Reformation. All that Charles required of the diet of Spire in 1526, was to wait patiently for the meeting of a general council, without giving encouragement to novelties. Yet the diet ſaw the Lutheran prieſts of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel publicly preach their doctrine, and adminiſter the ſacraments according to their rites. The Lutherans were ſtill more emboldened by an angry manifeſto, which the emperour publiſhed againſt the pope. More than a third part of Germany had already ſhaken off the Romiſh yoke; and the Catholics, influenced by example and argument, loſt much of that profound veneration for the Holy See, which was ſo well calculated to maintain its doctrines in the midſt of the greateſt abuſes.

Diet of Spire, which gave occaſion to the name of *Proteſtants*.

Even after the emperour had come to an accommodation with the pope, all that he thought he could demand, at the ſecond diet of Spire, in 1529, was a prohibition of making any more innovations till the meeting of a general council, eſpecially with regard to the maſs, which was already aboliſhed in ſeveral ſtates. However

However moderate the decree of the diet in that matter might have appeared, a proteſt was entered by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, with ſome other princes, and fourteen imperial or free cities. Hence is derived the name of *Proteſtants*, which became common to all of the new religion.

Confeſſion of Augſburg.

The following year Charles V. aſſiſted in perſon at the diet of Augſburg, where the Proteſtants preſented their confeſſion of faith, which was drawn up by Melancthorn, the moſt moderate of Luther's diſciples. It underwent an examination; and the theologians diſputed, according to cuſtom, without any other advantage than making each party more obſtinate in their own opinion.

Severe decree againſt the reformed.

By a ſevere decree ſeveral articles of the Lutheran doctrine were condemned, thoſe who taught them forbidden to be tolerated, and an exact obſervation of the ancient ceremonies enjoined; with a promiſe of ſoliciting the pope to call a general council in ſix months, where the diſputes ſhould be determined. But what appearance was there that the two parties would ever ſubmit to the judgment of that council?

League of Smalkald.

The Proteſtants, being now no longer in doubt that their ruin was deſigned, aſſembled at Smalkald, and formed a league for their own defence; to which Francis I. ſoon after privately acceded. Henry VIII. too much employed with the affair of his divorce, gave only vague hopes.

Ferdinand elected king of the Romans.

Charles had a ſhort time before cauſed his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans; under pretence that, in his abſence, the empire ſtood in need of a powerful chief, to make head againſt the Turks. The houſe of Auſtria evidently threatened the liberty of Germany.

Liberty of conſcience granted on account of the Turks.

But the circumſtances did not permit the emperour to reduce a party formidable in itſelf, and animated by the enthuſiaſm of a religious zeal. He ſaw Soliman ready to pour into Hungary with all his forces, in order to revenge the affront which his arms had met with the preceding year before Vienna; and perceived the neceſſity

ceſſity of oppoſing to him the body of the empire. Being apprehenſive leſt the Lutherans, if provoked, ſhould forget the general intereſt of Chriſtendom, policy pulled off the maſk of zeal; and, by a treaty concluded with the Proteſtants at Nuremberg, which was ratified at Ratiſbon in 1531, Charles granted them liberty of conſcience, till a council ſhould be held; at the ſame time annulling all the ſentences paſſed againſt them by the imperial chamber; upon which they engaged to give him powerful aſſiſtance againſt the Turks.

1532. It procures him an advantage over Soliman.

In fact, the imperial army was the ſtrongeſt that had ever been ſeen; and the emperour, who had not yet appeared at the head of his troops (a thing ſurpriſing in an age of heroiſm) on this occaſion took the command. He had the glory of diſconcerting the projects of a formidable enemy, whoſe forces are ſaid to have amounted to three hundred thouſand men. Soliman retired, without any memorable action happening in the courſe of the campaign. Such was the fruit of a concord unhappily too eaſy to be broken, which ought to have been ſtrengthened from regard to the public weal, but which was ſoon to be deſtroyed by other motives.

Barbaroſſa, uſurper of Tunis.

This expedition was followed by another more glorious. The celebrated Barbaroſſa, from being at firſt only a common corſair, had ſeized Algiers, and, in order to preſerve it, put himſelf under the protection of Soliman, whoſe admiral he became; after which he by treachery and violence dethroned Muley Haſſen, king of Tunis. The latter finding no ſuccour in Africa, implored that of Charles V. who eagerly ſeized the opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf, in hopes of putting an end to the terrour with which Barbaroſſa filled Spain and Italy. Accordingly the emperour went on board of a fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred ſail, with an army of about thirty thouſand men, ſtormed Goletta, a ſtrong town on the ſea coaſt, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon; and on his way to Tunis met Barbaroſſa, advancing at the head of fifty thouſand men,

1535. Defeated by Charles V.

men, and defeated him in a pitched battle. During the action, ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, who were confined in the caſtle, broke their fetters, and ſeized that fortreſs. The inhabitants of Tunis, being in no condition to defend themſelves, ſent their keys to the victor; when, without waiting for the orders of Charles, who was deliberating in what manner he ſhould treat the vanquiſhed, the enraged ſoldiery ruſhed to the pillage, ſpread over the whole town, committed the moſt horrible acts of violence, and maſſacred more than thirty thouſand perſons. Sacking of Tunis.

Muley Haſſen was reſtored, on condition of acknowledging himſelf a vaſſal of the court of Spain, giving up all the fortified harbours, and paying twelve thouſand crowns annually for maintaining a garriſon in Goletta, &c. Barbaroſſa had retired to Bone (the ancient Hippo) where it is ſaid that Doria could have forced him, but would not, that he might make his own ſervices always neceſſary to the emperour. We ſhall find this haughty Muſſulman take advantage of the diſorders that prevailed among the Chriſtians, and again make them tremble. Treaty with Muley Haſſen.

While the emperour, intoxicated with his good fortune, was pompouſly triumphing, and diſplaying his grandeur in Italy, the king of France gave himſelf up to the ſentiments of hatred, revenge, and ambition, which had already produced ſo many deſtructive events. From the humiliating treaty of Cambray, he meditated new projects of war, and uſed every effort to ſtir up all the powers of Europe; but his meaſures did not ſucceed. Clement VII. whom he had gained by a marriage between the duke of Orleans (afterwards Henry II.) and Catharine Medici, the pope's niece, died before he fulfilled his promiſes. Henry VIII. embarraſſed with the conſequences of his divorce, would not engage in a hazardous enterpriſe; and the league of Smalkald, irritated by the king's conduct to the French proteſtants, refuſed him the leaſt aſſiſtance. Fruitleſs negotiations of Francis I.

Zeal which he affects againſt the profeſſors of the new religion, to whom he had ſhewn himſelf favourable.

This prince had a little before acted with a violence calulated to ſtir up the profeſſors of the new religion againſt him. Some fanatics having poſted up libels againſt the clergy and the euchariſt, he ordered a ſolemn proceſſion, in order to wipe out the ſcandal, and aſſiſted at it himſelf with a torch in his hand, his children carrying the canopy; after which he pronounced a vehement ſpeech before the biſhop of Paris, in which he ſaid, *that if one of his limbs was infected with hereſy, he would cut it off, and would ſacrifice his own ſon if he found him guilty of that crime.* To conclude the ſcene, ſix Lutherans were burnt alive in the moſt cruel manner, being alternately let down and drawn up from the flames by help of a machine, until they expired.

He endeavours to reconcile the differences of opinions.

Yet Francis had invited Melancthon to come and give him advice on the method of reconciling the parties. He had profeſſed to the confederate Germans a ſingular moderation on the controverted points: nor was he ignorant that the new opinions were reliſhed and favoured by his ſiſter, Margaret, queen of Navarre; but the ferment in men's minds was undoubtedly ſo great, that he thought it impoſſible to be allayed, except by thoſe appearances of zeal, the effects of which he did not ſufficiently foreſee.

He reſumes his deſigns on the Milaneſe.

Though deprived of the aſſiſtance of his allies, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of the Milaneſe, under pretence of an inſult offered him by Sforza, in the perſon of one of his miniſters. He began with ſeizing the ſtates of Charles duke of Savoy, whom he had reaſon to be offended with and to diſtruſt; of which circumſtance Geneva took advantage, to make itſelf entirely independent. In the mean time, Franciſco Sforza dying without children, the emperour ſeized the Milaneſe; but the king pretending that his rights to that dutchy had now reverted to him, a negotiation was ſet on foot, which Charles V. artfully ſpun out to a great length, promiſing the inveſtiture ſometimes to his ſecond, ſometimes to his youngeſt ſon; and thus amuſed his rival,

He ſuffers himſelf to be amuſ-

who

who was formerly ſo impetuous, while he took meaſures to cruſh him by the weight of his arms. At laſt, on his arrival at Rome, he poured forth an invective againſt him, in full conſiſtory, with equal indecency, animoſity, and bitterneſs. Yet even after this inſult, Francis continued to negotiate, while the ſtorm was ready to break upon his head.

ed, when he ought to have come to action.

CHAP. IV.

Invaſion of France by Charles V.—*Alliance of Francis* I. *with the Turks.—Truce of Nice.—Revolt of the Inhabitants of Ghent.*

IF misfortune had rendered the king of France too cautious, proſperity had inſpired Charles with a haughty preſumption, which made him look upon every chimerical viſion of pride as well founded. He therefore thought himſelf ſufficiently powerful to make an eaſy conqueſt of France; and ſome ſtrange, high ſounding propheſies were every where ſpread, which perhaps his vanity prompted him to believe, or which he was pleaſed with ſeeing ſwallowed by the credulity of the vulgar. Contrary to the advice of his beſt generals, he marched into Piedmont at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men; taking advantage of the treachery of the marquis de Saluzzo, who, though loaded with favours by Francis, was ungrateful enough to give his enemy a paſſage into his kingdom; and Provence was immediately overſpread by imperialiſts.

1536. Charles V. attempts the conqueſt of France.

Happily de Montmorency, mareſchal, and afterwards conſtable of France, had concerted with the king the proper meaſures for defending the country, without running any riſk. Sacrificing the intereſts of individuals to the general good, he had ravaged the whole country, abandoned all the towns except Arles and Marſeilles,

Provence invaded & delivered.

ſeilles, into which he had thrown ſtrong garriſons, and intrenched himſelf near Avignon, in a camp which the enemy was not able to force. The vivacity of the French made them murmur at a conduct ſo oppoſite to the national genius; but Charles V. felt by experience the prudence of theſe meaſures. His troops ſoon mouldered away by want and diſeaſe; he could neither lay ſiege to Arles nor Marſeilles, attack Montmorency, nor bring him to a battle; he was therefore obliged to make a precipitate retreat; and to complete his misfortunes, part of his troops were maſſacred by the Provençal peaſants. An invaſion made by the Flemings into Picardy was equally inglorious; and they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Peronne. Never was there given a more manifeſt proof of the reſources which France can command in a defenſive war. Why then laviſh in foreign countries the blood of a nation, the ſubjects and ſovereigns of which may find happineſs at home?

Invaſion of Picardy equally fruitleſs.

The emperour ſummoned before the parliament.

Theſe two illuſtrious rivals had, from the firſt riſe of their quarrels, frequently been hurried into bravadoes and reproachful language, diſgraceful of their majeſty; and the hatred of Francis was on this occaſion again ſignalized in an indecent manner. He aſſembled the parliament, in order to paſs a ſentence againſt the emperour; when it was alledged that *Charles of Auſtria*, having broken the treaty of Cambray, which conſequently no longer ſubſiſted, ought to be reckoned a vaſſal of the king for the counties of Artois and Flanders, was guilty of felony, and ought to abide the judgment of the court of peers; to which he was accordingly ſummoned; and on the expiration of the legal term, the two fiefs were confiſcated by an arret.

Raſh ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him, on account of the dauphin's death.

Before this vain inſult, ſuſpicions of the moſt injurious nature had been raiſed againſt him, with regard to the dauphin's death. Montecuculi, an Italian gentleman, the young prince's cup bearer, being put to the torture, acknowledged himſelf guilty of the poiſoning, and accuſed two generals in the ſervice of the emperour, who

who was likewiſe charged indirectly with being an accomplice in the crime. But a confeſſion, extorted by the rack, is too liable to ſuſpicion. The dauphin's death was probably natural; beſides, Charles had no intereſt in committing ſo atrocious a crime, as there yet ſurvived two ſons of Francis. Catharine Medici, wife to the duke of Orleans, an ambitious and unprincipled woman, ſeemed a more proper object of ſuſpicion, becauſe ſhe became dauphineſs. Charles inſinuated this; and his conjecture appeared not altogether groundleſs, conſidering the character of that princeſs, with which the reader will be acquainted in the ſequel.

Alliance of Francis I. with the Turks.

In order to ſupport a war againſt an enemy who was always to be dreaded, the king of France made an alliance with Soliman, and by that ſtep expoſed himſelf to new invectives. Such treaties were ſtill looked upon as diſhonourable to the Chriſtian name. Nations were not aſhamed of perſiſting with inveterate malice to attempt the ruin of each other; yet they were aſhamed of uniting with the Turks, even when they ſtood in need of aid! What inſuperable barriers are raiſed between man and man by religious hatred! The Turks were to attack Hungary and the kingdom of Naples, while a French army invaded the Milaneſe. Barbaroſſa landed near Tarento, and filled the whole country with terrour; but the French did not appear, becauſe the king could not take his meaſures with ſufficient quickneſs. This obſtruction made a project miſcarry, which undoubtedly would have changed the face of affairs; and, on the approach of a fleet commanded by Doria, the Turk prudently withdrew.

It was unſucceſsful.

1538. Interview and truce at Nice.

Paul III. (Farneſe) a pontiff of advanced age, being deſirous of giving peace to Europe, and at the ſame time of procuring the aggrandizement of his own family, at laſt propoſed an interview at Nice between the two monarchs, to put an end to the war. At that place they concluded a truce for ten years, by the mediation of the pope, who carried their propoſals and

anſwers

anſwers between them, as they would neither ſee nor ſpeak to each other. It was agreed that things ſhould remain in the ſituation they then were, till the concluſion of a peace. After this, the two rivals ſaw one another at Aigueſmortes, with all the marks of perfect cordiality. Theſe perpetual contraſts of behaviour can only be accounted for by the manners of chivalry, though at bottom the ancient frankneſs ſubſiſted almoſt only in appearance.

Marriage of Octavio Farneſe.

The pope ſucceeded in his purpoſe, by obtaining for his nephew, Octavio Farneſe, the hand of Margaret of Auſtria, the emperour's natural daughter, and widow of Alexander Medici. Lorenzo Medici, the couſin and intimate friend of Alexander, had aſſaſſinated him by the blackeſt treachery; but that murderer could not enjoy the fruits of his crime; the emperour putting Coſmo II. ſon of Alexander, in poſſeſſion of Florence.

Aſſaſſination of Alexander Medici.

1539. Charles cannot obtain money from the *cortes*.

A ſtriking proof of the inconveniences which war brings even on the greateſt potentates is, that the reſources of Charles V. were exhauſted; that he owed conſiderable arrears to his troops; and that they mutinied every where, from his inability to pay them. He therefore aſſembled at Toledo the *cortes*, or ſtates general of Caſtile, laid before them his wants, and demanded ſubſidies. The Spaniards had frequently murmured at the impoſition of new taxes, for a war in which they were not intereſted. The nobility, though exempt from taxes by their privileges, were tranſported with rage, made loud complaints, and refuſed to grant any ſupply; upon which Charles diſſolved the cortes with indignation, declaring the nobles and prelates for ever excluded from a ſeat in them, becauſe men who paid no taxes had no right to a voice in the national aſſemblies.

He excludes the clergy and nobility.

Haughtineſs and independence of the Spaniſh grandees.

We may judge of the power and haughtineſs of the Spaniſh grandees by a ſingular circumſtance, of which the town of Toledo was at that time witneſs. The emperour was coming from a tournament, attended by his

his court, when one of the officers, whoſe buſineſs it is to make way before him, having ſtruck the duke d'Infantado's horſe with his rod, the duke immediately drew his ſword and wounded the officer; upon which Charles ordered the grand provoſt to arreſt the nobleman on the ſpot; but the conſtable of Caſtile came up, obliged the provoſt to retire, claimed his own right to judge a grandee, and took the duke to his own houſe, whither he was accompanied by all the nobility, who applauded his ſpirit; only a ſingle cardinal remaining with the king. Charles was prudent enough to diſſemble; for ſeverity could only have increaſed the evil, and ſown the ſeeds of rebellion. Next day, he ſent to Infantado an offer of puniſhing the officer in any manner he ſhould preſcribe; but the duke, ſatisfied with that reparation, far from making any further demand, gave the man a conſiderable preſent, and the grandees returned to court.

Revolt of the inhabitants of Ghent not turned to advantage by Francis I.

The people of Ghent raiſed a more violent diſturbance, on account of a tax which they thought an infringement of their privileges. Being condemned by the council of Malines, they offered Francis I. to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, to put their city into his hands, and to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of Flanders and Artois. The ſituation, trade and opulence of that country certainly would have made it an acquiſition as valuable as it ſeemed eaſy; but the monarch's whole views were centered in Milan, of which he always hoped for the inveſtiture; and, not content with rejecting the flattering offer of the people of Ghent, diſcovered the whole negotiation to the emperour.

Charles obtains a paſſage through France.

Charles, who was perfectly acquainted with his character, aſked permiſſion to paſs through his kingdom, on his way to ſubdue the rebels; engaging to grant him the inveſtiture of Milan, ſo eagerly deſired, and ſo often promiſed in vain. Such a ſtep had the appearance of fooliſh temerity, and was unanimouſly diſapproved by the council of Spain; but it was juſtified by the event. The emperour's deſigns were favoured by the

the French king's ideas of honour, which bordered on the romantic; he therefore obtained his whole requeſt. He croſſed the dominions of his rival with a train of a hundred attendants, being every where received with great pomp; ſtaid ſeven days at Paris, where he was loaded with marks of friendſhip and confidence; and ſet out without even leaving any authentic teſtimony of his promiſes. The inhabitants of Ghent, ſtruck with conſternation, opened their gates to him, and he entered that, his native city, on his birth day, according to his own expreſſion—*as their ſovereign and their judge, with the ſceptre and the ſword.* Twenty ſix of the principal citizens were put to death, a greater number baniſhed, the town deprived of its privileges, and fined in a large ſum for the building of a citadel, to keep it under the yoke.

1540. He reduces and puniſhes Ghent.

Francis was ſoon taught by the event what his own foreſight ought to have dictated to him. Charles V. eluded, and even denied his promiſes; and beſtowed the Milaneſe on his ſon Philip II. The duplicity of the one is leſs ſurpriſing than the credulity of the other. Thus were ſown the ſeeds of a new war; and the people were again deſtined to fall victims to the paſſions of their ſovereigns.

He breaks his word with the king.

CHAP. V.

General Council aſſembled by Pope Paul III.—*Continuance of Diſturbances and Wars.—Treaty of Crepi.—Tyranny of Henry* VIII.

FRUITLESS endeavours were ſtill uſed for finding a method to terminate the religious quarrels, which are more obſtinate than any other. The project of a general council, which was perpetually renewed, gave unceaſing diſquiet to the court of Rome, which temporized

Conduct of Paul III. with regard to the affairs of religion.

temporized according to its ordinary ſtrain of policy; and, when it yielded to the importunities of the Catholics, it was with the precautions entirely irreconcilable to the views of the proteſtants, who demanded liberty and equality, and inſiſted on a council being held in Germany. Paul III. had convoked one at Mantua, and afterwards at Vicenza, but it had been productive of no good effect; and a ſhew of reformation, ordered by the pope, was equally fruitleſs.—*They amuſe themſelves with curing warts*, ſaid Luther, *and neglect or foſter ulcers*.

Projects for a council.

Inſtead of a council, the proteſtants required of the emperour a conference of divines, to diſcuſs the controverted points. This conference, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the pope, was held at the diet of Ratiſbon in 1541, where Charles himſelf preſented a work, entitled *Concordia*, written with a moderation diſpleaſing to both parties. However, ſeveral articles of ſpeculative theology were agreed to; but, as to the mode of worſhip, the juriſdiction, and every thing that regarded practice, the intereſts were too oppoſite, and the diſputes too fierce, to admit any conciliation.

Fruitleſs conference at Ratiſbon.

The emperour, deſpairing to ſucceed in this ſcheme, prevailed upon the diet to publiſh a *receſs* (an edict) bearing, that the points agreed upon by the doctors ſhould be inviolably obſerved; that the others ſhould be referred to the deciſion of a general council; or, in default of a council, to that of a national ſynod; or, in caſe no ſynod was aſſembled, to the judgment of a diet, which ſhould meet in the ſpace of eighteen months; and, in the mean time, no innovations ſhould be made. This edict filled the pope with indignation, and he condemned it, becauſe laymen erected themſelves into judges of an eccleſiaſtical controverſy. The proteſtants likewiſe complained of the fetters it put upon their liberty. But Charles appeaſed their murmurs, by a particular declaration, favourable to their deſires; for motives of policy yet obliged him to keep fair with them.

Receſs condemned by the pope, and diſagreeable to the Proteſtants.

His

1541. Ferdinand loſes part of Hungary.

His brother Ferdinand had loſt part of the kingdom of Hungary, to deprive him of which John Zapoli had drawn the arms of Soliman into that country, and become a tributary to the Porte. Zapoli dying, and leaving a ſon in the cradle, Ferdinand prepared to ſeize the inheritance of the infant; but the biſhop Martinuzzi,* who was joint regent with the queen mother, implored the aſſiſtance of the Turk; and Ferdinand in vain attempted to prevent the ſucceſs of the negotiation, though he humbled himſelf ſo far as to make an offer of paying the tribute required by the Porte. The Turks marched againſt him, forced his army to raiſe the ſiege of Buda, and gained a deciſive victory. But Soliman kept for himſelf the dominions of the young king, and ſent him with his mother into Tranſilvania. The emperour received this news during the diet of Ratiſbon, and it was the principal motive of the complaiſance he ſhewed to the Proteſtants.

Expedition of Charles againſt Algiers.

Beſides, he was meditating a grand expedition againſt Algiers, where he hoped to triumph as he had done at Tunis. The kingdom of Algiers was governed, in Barbaroſſa's abſence, by Haſſan Aga, a native of Sardinia, a renegado, eunuch, and great captain, who by his piracies did incredible damage to Spain. Charles, being reſolved to puniſh this corſair, obſtinately bent on the execution of his purpoſe, ſhutting his eyes to the danger, and deaf to the remonſtrances and entreaties of the celebrated Doria, embarked in autumn with his beſt troops, and appeared before Algiers on the twentieth of October; but ſcarce had he landed, when a dreadful ſtorm laid the country under water, while the army had neither tents, ſhelter, nor any ſuccour. They paſſed the night in the mire, great part of the fleet was daſhed in pieces; and the Algerines fell upon the troops, whoſe ſtrength was entirely exhauſted, and ſcarce able to ſupport the weight of their armour. The only means to ſave

* This Martinuzzi, who was a cardinal, and a great ſtateſman, was afterwards aſſaſſinated by order of Ferdinand.

ſave Charles from deſtruction was a quick retreat. Luckily, Doria, having weathered the ſtorm, waited for him at Cape Metafuz, diſtant about three days march, and at this place he arrived through a thouſand dangers, which even followed him in his paſſage into Spain. This unfortunate expedition muſt have taught him the danger of rejecting prudent counſels; but, if it humbled his haughty preſumption, it procured him the glory of diſplaying his courage, conſtancy, generoſity, and compaſſion; virtues leſs diſtinguiſhable in the courſe of his proſperities. Perhaps, he never appeared ſo great as in misfortune.

Francis finds new reaſons for a war.

Francis I. rouſed to revenge by the perfidy of his rival, was eager to break the truce agreed upon at Nice, when a ſubject of complaint was given him more worthy of making him fly to arms. Two ambaſſadours whom he had ſent to negotiate, one at the Porte, the other at Venice, were aſſaſſinated on the road, by order of the Marquis de Guaſto, governour of Milan; while Charles V. was preparing for his expedition againſt Algiers. As he received no reparation for this injury, he attempted to intereſt all the powers of Europe in his revenge; but could only procure the alliance of Sweden, Denmark (which is the firſt inſtance of a confederacy with the North) and Soliman, with whom he renewed his treaty, notwithſtanding the intrigues of Charles V.

His alliances.

He had alienated the Proteſtants and Henry VIII.

The Proteſtants of Germany refuſed to join him, on account of the ſeverity with which he treated the Lutherans, in order, by an appearance of zeal, to efface in ſome meaſure the alledged crime of concluding an alliance with the Turk. He had taken too little care to ſooth the violent temper of Henry VIII. whom he had even irritated by croſſing the marriage of his ſon Edward with Mary, queen of Scotland, who was yet in her cradle; a marriage projected with a view to unite the two kingdoms. The emperour took advantage of the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh monarch, and, forgetting the injury done to Catharine of Arragon (ſhe was now dead)

Henry enters into a league with the emperour.

dead) concluded a league offenſive and defenſive againſt France. He alledged religious pretexts againſt the ally of Soliman, while he himſelf made no ſcruple to enter into a confederacy with the greateſt enemy of the Romiſh church.

1542. Five French armies.

As ſoon as war was declared, Francis ſet five armies on foot. This is a proof of the advantage he reaped from the conſtitution of his monarchy, where the ſubſidies were larger, as well as more quickly levied, and the troops more eaſily raiſed; the royal authority being not confined within ſo narrow bounds. The firſt campaign did not correſpond with theſe immenſe preparations. The duke of Orleans, who met with uninterrupted ſucceſs in the Low Countries, imprudently abandoned his conqueſts to march into Rouſillon, where his brother the dauphin was beſieging Perpignan. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſhare the honour of a victory, and he only partook in the diſgrace of raiſing the ſiege.

The firſt campaign unſucceſsful.

Siege of Nice raiſed by the French & Turks.

The following year, Francis made himſelf maſter of Landreci, which Charles in vain attempted to retake; but the count d'Enguien and Barbaroſſa miſcarried at the ſiege of Nice. Europe was ſtrangely ſcandalized at ſeeing the French and Turks united in this expedition; but ſucceſs would have ſilenced the clamours. Soliman ſucceeded better in Hungary, where he took ſeveral more towns.

1544. Boldneſs of the German Proteſtants.

The more Charles V. was embarraſſed by the war, the more did the league of Smalkald increaſe in ſtrength and courage. Its members had a little before entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt the imperial chamber, and required the diſſolution of a court, againſt which they had reaſons of complaint, at the ſame time refuſing to contribute towards the defence of Hungary. It was of great importance to the emperour to prevent a total rupture with the Proteſtants, and above all to engage them to ſerve againſt France. By a dexterous compliance with the conjunctures, he obtained from them

them what he wiſhed. The diet of Spire, at which he preſided, ſuſpended all the decrees contrary to liberty of conſcience, and granted to the Proteſtants the public exerciſe of their religion, till the meeting of a general or national council, which was declared to be neceſſary; upon which the Proteſtants, with the other members of the empire, declared themſelves enemies of a king who was in alliance with the Turks.

The emperour gains them over by granting them the free exerciſe of their religion.

France, though expoſed to formidable invaſions, again enjoyed the pleaſure of a victory. The count d'Enguien, who beſieged Carignana in Piedmont, had orders not to venture a battle; but Guaſto advancing to attack him, and the French burning with deſire of coming to an engagement, Montluck, a Gaſcon officer, eminent for his abilities and courage, was diſpatched to the king, in order to obtain his permiſſion; and with the eloquence of military enthuſiaſm, bore down the reaſons of the council. Enguien gained a complete victory at Cerizoula, where the imperialiſts left above ten thouſand men on the field, and the French loſt only about two hundred. Unluckily, the kingdom was in danger; and the king recalling part of his troops, no advantage was reaped from this great victory.

Fruitleſs victory of the French at Cerizoula.

Francis I. was threatened with almoſt inevitable deſtruction, if Charles V. and Henry VIII. had executed their plan in concert. It was projected, that they ſhould, each at the head of a numerous army, penetrate into the heart of the kingdom without forming ſieges, and join their forces near Paris. But the deſire of taking places broke their meaſures. The emperour loſt five weeks before St. Dizier; which, though unprovided with every thing, was defended with wonderful reſolution by the count de Sancerre, and they were even obliged to forge a permiſſion from the king before he could be induced to ſurrender. Henry, on his ſide, laid ſiege to Boulogne and Montreuil. The ſeaſon advanced: Champagne had been laid waſte, as Provence was formerly, that the enemy might be deſtroyed

The enemy loſe time in beſieging towns.

ſtroyed by famine; and though Charles had made himſelf maſter of Chateau Thierri, though terrour was ſpread in the capital, he already dreaded the event of the expedition, and concluded a peace at Crepi, near Meaux, without the conſent of the king of England.

Treaty of Crepi between Charles & Francis.

This treaty bears, that the emperour ſhould either give his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries, or the ſecond daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe; that he ſhould renounce his pretenſions to Burgundy, and Francis I. give up his claims to Naples, Flanders, and Artois; and that both ſhould unite to make war againſt the Turks. By a ſecret article, they engaged to take the moſt efficacious meaſures for the meeting of a council, and the extirpation of hereſy in their reſpective dominions. All the conqueſts made ſince the expiration of the truce of Nice were to be reſtored, and the duke of Savoy to be reſtored to his domains, except Pignerol and Montmelian, as ſoon as the duke of Orleans was put in poſſeſſion of the territory deſtined for him.

Meaſures taken for the war diſconcerted by the death of the young duke of Orleans.

The duke of Orleans died before the conſummation of the marriage, and this unforeſeen death was of the greateſt advantage to Charles. Francis demanded ſome recompenſe; but his propoſals were rejected, though he could then have revived his ancient pretenſions; and being in a bad ſtate of health, as well as weary of the war, he checked his juſt reſentment.

Henry VIII. makes peace, having gained almoſt nothing.

Henry VIII. continued hoſtilities without any memorable event, till the year 1546, when he concluded a peace, retaining poſſeſſion of Boulogne, on condition of reſtoring it in eight years, for eight hundred thouſand gold crowns. The war had coſt him one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling. Thus are princes ruined by ambitious enterpriſes, whence they flattered themſelves with drawing great advantages. Henry had been in hopes of conquering Normandy and Guienne, perhaps of even making himſelf maſter

of

of the whole kingdom; for in what chimeras did he not indulge his pride?

That prince a ſlave to his paſſions. His ſix marriages.

Let us ſtop here a moment to reflect on the paſſions of that monarch, to which he was a ſlave, as he was a tyrant to his people; and the vices which hurried him from one exceſs to another, corrupted the excellent qualities which he inherited from nature. He had it in his power to be a great man, and he became a monſter. He was ſoon diſguſted with Anne Boleyn, whom he had ſet upon the throne inſtead of Catharine of Arragon; another paſſion eclipſed thoſe charms to which he had ſacrificed every thing, and the new queen quickly felt the effects of his barbarity, being condemned and executed upon bare ſuſpicion. Next day the king was married to her rival Jane Seymour, and cauſed his marriage with Anne to be declared null. Jane dying in 1537, after having brought him a ſon (prince Edward) he married Anne of Cleves, and almoſt immediately divorced her on frivolous pretences, which were notwithſtanding approved by the clergy and the parliament. Catharine Howard afterwards received his hand, to paſs from his bed to the ſcaffold. She had been engaged in ſome intrigues of gallantry in her youth, and was beheaded for that crime. Catharine Par, Henry's ſixth wife, was on the point of undergoing the ſame fate, becauſe in a converſation ſhe ſeemed to differ from him on ſome points of theology. Sentence of death was paſſed; but ſhe was luckily informed of the danger, and diſarmed the tyrant by her addreſs and flattery.

He dictated abſurd and ſanguinary laws to the parliament.

The parliament, ſubmiſſive, mean ſpirited, without power, and deſtitute of honour, was only a vile inſtrument of tyranny. The abſurd and ſanguinary laws dictated by that prince, met with no oppoſition. Accordingly, on the affair of the unfortunate Catharine Howard, it was declared that a queen, paſſing for a virgin at the time of her marriage, when ſhe was not, ſhould be deemed guilty of a capital crime, if ſhe did not herſelf undeceive the king; and it was made felony

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in every perſon, who ſuſpected the queen of diſorderly behaviour, not to lodge an information againſt her before the king or council. At the ſame time contradictory ſtatutes were enacted, prohibiting all perſons, under pain of incurring the guilt of high treaſon, from aſſerting, that the king's two firſt marriages were lawful, or ſaying any thing derogatory of the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, the children of thoſe marriages, who were in conſequence both declared baſtards.

His tyrannical caprices with regard to religion.

But it was principally in religious matters that Henry gave a looſe to the capriciouſneſs and atrocious cruelty of his diſpoſition. The ſpiritual power with which he had cauſed himſelf to be inveſted, was exerciſed by him in the double quality of theologian and deſpot, armed with the ſword to eſtabliſh his opinions. He puniſhed with the utmoſt rage whoever dared to differ from him; and he himſelf often changed his way of thinking, his creed depending upon the caprice of the moment. A violent enemy to the Romiſh church and its head, he was equally immoderate in his zeal for the greateſt part of the doctrines which it had eſtabliſhed. The real preſence, private maſſes, auricular confeſſion, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation to obſerve vows of chaſtity, were laws of the ſtate, which it was a capital crime to infringe. The parliament enacted a ſtatute for the obſervation of theſe points, which was deſervedly called the *bloody ſtatute*. But the greateſt crime was to deny or call in queſtion the king's ſupremacy, or, in a word, refuſe to take the oath. It was this that brought the illuſtrious Thomas More to the block, as well as John Fiſher, a prelate of uncommon merit. Reforming religion in this manner ſeems nearly the ſame with opening a door to fanaticiſm.

What he wanted to be retained of the Romiſh church.

More and Fiſher executed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Beginning of the Council of Trent.—War againſt the Proteſtants in Germany.—Death of Francis I. *and Henry* VIII.

The Catholics always demanded a council.

ALL the projects for a general council, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Lutheraniſm, had been unſucceſsful. Though long experience had given reaſon to believe, that thoſe great aſſemblies, in which human paſſions, unavoidably mixed with the affairs of heaven, might define doctrines without terminating diſputes, and that their wiſeſt decrees cure not inveterate wounds; yet the Catholics ſaw no other method for putting a ſtop to the progreſs of hereſy, or remedying the diſorders of the church; and their princes preſſed the pope on this important ſubject, perhaps leſs from the hopes of its producing any real advantage, than a view of appearing zealous for the good cauſe.

Paul III. though taken up with the aggrandizement of his family, yet aſſembles the council of Trent.

Paul III. above all things, had at heart the ſecuring of Parma and Placentia to his baſtard, Louis Farneſe, and bore with impatience the emperour's refuſal of his conſent to ſo ſcandalous a diſmemberment of the eccleſiaſtical territory. It was impoſſible that this ſelfiſh pontiff could be really a reformer; yet he complied with the wiſhes of the Catholic world, as far as his private intereſt gave him leave, and ſummoned a council to meet at Trent in the year 1545. The emperour in vain uſed his utmoſt endeavours, at the diet of Worms, to prevail on the Proteſtants to ſubmit to its deciſions.

The Proteſtants refuſe to ſubmit to it.

Their anſwer was, that they would not even deign to attempt a defence of their doctrine, in an aſſembly which was under the entire influence of the pope; that the pope could not be their judge, being juſtly liable to the charge of partiality, on account of the anathemas

which he had publiſhed againſt them, and the aſſembling of a council ſolely with a view to their condemnation. Their reaſons were ſpecious, though weak; but their obſtinacy was invincible.

The emperour no longer keeps fair with them.

They already ſuſpected the intentions of Charles, who in fact was contriving their ruin; and, having no more the ſame political reaſons to keep fair with them, had on ſeveral occaſions betrayed his ſentiments. The archbiſhop, elector of Cologne, being deſirous of eſtabliſhing Lutheraniſm, his canons entered an appeal to the pope and the emperour, which the latter received, and took them under his protection. During the diet of Worms, he ſilenced the Lutheran preachers, and ſuffered an Italian monk to declaim againſt them. But their party was formidable by its numbers, which were ſtill increaſed by the acceſſion of Frederic, elector Palatine, and his ſubjects. Luther enjoyed this triumph a little before his death, which happened in 1546. Perhaps never man had met with ſucceſſes ſo flattering to vanity; a paſſion of which he was ſuſceptible, though he deſpiſed fortune. It muſt be acknowledged in his praiſe, that, notwithſtanding the impetuoſity of his temper, he always reſtrained his followers from beginning a civil war; but of what miſchiefs has he not been the cauſe?

But their party increaſed.

1545. Beginning of the council.

The council was already opened; but that aſſembly, which was to repreſent the whole church, at firſt conſiſted of only forty biſhops. They began with paſſing a reſolution, that the regulation of the doctrines, and the work of reformation, ſhould be carried on at the ſame time. But the pope inſiſted that the faith ſhould be fixed in the firſt place; and the emperour required that the reformation, the very thoughts of which ſtartled the court of Rome, ſhould be ſettled before the doctrines. Paul III. was the leſs inclined to ſecond his views, as he had refuſed to confirm the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia in favour of that pontiff's ſon; alledging, as a reaſon for his refuſal, that theſe two

Inveſtiture of Parma.

dutchies

dutchies were fiefs of the empire, and conſequently not at the diſpoſal of the pope. Yet the houſe of Farneſe kept poſſeſſion of them, till the extinction of the family.

The firſt decrees of the council were an open attack on the principles of Proteſtantiſm. The books formerly ſtyled *apocryphal* were declared to be canonical; it was determined that the tradition of the church was of equal authority with revelation; the *vulgate* was made ſacred, as an authentic tranſlation. The pope complained that the aſſembly, while yet ſo thin, decided too quickly on objects of ſuch importance. But whilſt theſe decrees, which were accompanied with anathemas, gave the Proteſtants warning of an entire condemnation, he increaſed their animoſity and uneaſineſs by publiſhing a bull of depoſition againſt the archbiſhop of Cologne, as guilty of hereſy, and abſolving his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; which was ſufficient proof that he and the emperour were in ſecret intelligence.

First decrees reſpecting the ſcripture and tradition.

The pope irritates them by depoſing the archbiſhop of Cologne.

Charles had been long making preparations, though he diſſembled his intentions. He now concluded a truce of five years with the Turk, entered into a league with the pope, and ſowed or fomented diviſions among the Lutheran princes, whoſe particular intereſts were neceſſarily prejudicial to the general advantage of their church; but he principally affected not to attack their religion, becauſe they would have been infallibly united by zeal for its defence. At laſt his crafty politics being betrayed by the rumours of war, and the march of the troops, he acknowledged in the diet of Ratiſbon that he was arming; and proteſted anew, that, without pretending to lay any reſtraint on the religion of the ſubjects of the empire, his ſole object was to ſupport the rights of the imperial dignity, and to chaſtiſe ſome factious members.

1546. Charles V. and Paul III. join in a league againſt them.

Yet his treaty with Paul III. bore, that they ſhould unite their arms to repreſs the heretics in Germany, and oblige

Conditions of the treaty contra-

ry to his public proteſtations.

oblige them to ſubmit to the council of Trent, and the Holy See. By this treaty he bound himſelf to ſhare with the pope the conqueſts he ſhould gain from them; and the pope granted him, for one year, half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of Spain, together with the power of alienating a certain quantity of lands, belonging to the religious houſes in that country. Thus did Charles V. after the example of Ferdinand the Catholic, make a mock of truth, and uſe the art of deceiving mankind, as an inſtrument for effecting his purpoſes.

The pope imprudently reveals the ſecret.

Sooner or later, truth is diſcovered, and fraud unmaſked. Paul himſelf betrayed this dark tranſaction. Proud of a league formed againſt the enemies of the Holy See, he publiſhed the articles of it in a bull, exhorting the faithful to concur in it, in order to gain indulgences. But the emperour was not diſconcerted by this unlucky piece of indiſcretion; he not only perſiſted in his falſe declarations, but had addreſs enough to perſuade part of the Proteſtants that he was ſincere.

Formidable army of the Proteſtants.

The major part perceived, more clearly than ever, what danger threatened their religion and the liberties of the empire; and, being reſolved to repel force by force, made vigorous preparations for a war. They ſolicited the Venetians, the Swiſs, Henry VIII. and Francis I. to ſupport them againſt a deſpotiſm, which, after having enſlaved Germany, would extend itſelf over the reſt of Europe. None of theſe negotiations ſucceeded; but they could diſpenſe with foreign aſſiſtance. In a few months they levied an army of more than fourſcore thouſand men, furniſhed with every neceſſary in abundance. The electors of Cologne and Brandenburgh remained neuter, as did alſo the elector Palatine. Maurice of Saxony, margrave of Miſnia, and the two princes of Brandenburgh, though all Proteſtants, declared for the emperour. The elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, the duke of Wurtemberg, the princes of Anhalt, the cities of Augſburg, Ulm and Straſburg, alone

Yet ſeveral princes had ſeparated from the league.

ſet

ſet this formidable armament on foot. Such numbers of military men could Germany furniſh, and ſo violent were the flames of religious and political zeal in that ſmall number of ſtates.

Charles was at Ratiſbon with very few troops; and had the confederates immediately attacked him, they would doubtleſs have ended the war. But, whether out of reſpect to ancient cuſtoms, a dread of making themſelves odious, or the flowneſs natural to the Germans, they compoſed a manifeſto, inſtead of coming to action. This the emperour had the courage to anſwer, only by putting the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, who were at the head of the league, under the ban of the empire; a ſtep which was the more bold, as it ought regularly to have been authorized by a diet. This ſentence ſubjected them to the puniſhment of rebellion, and gave their dominions to whoever could ſeize them. They then ſent a herald to declare war, and began the campaign.

They wrote a manifeſto, inſtead of attacking him ſpeedily.

Bold and firm behaviour of the emperour.

The pope's army and other ſuccours had time to arrive. The emperour, who was encamped near Ingolſtadt, prudently avoided a battle; and the enemy forebore to attack him, though they might have done it with advantage. Their two leaders were of entirely different characters, and equal in command; conſequently the operations were badly carried on. Meantime nothing eſcaped the ſagacity of the emperour; he foreſaw that the union between the members of that vaſt body would ſoon be diſſolved; and that, when once ſeparated, they would loſe their ſtrength: nor was this opinion diſproved by the event.

He foreſees their diviſions.

Maurice of Saxony, a crafty and ambitious prince, regardleſs of religion and the ties of blood, for which he notwithſtanding profeſſed the warmeſt affection, having ſeized on the eſtates of his couſin the elector, under pretence of ſecuring them from being invaded by a ſtranger, the confederates permitted that prince to lead his troops againſt the traitor; and ſcarce had he left them

Maurice of Saxony ſeizes his couſin's electorate.

them, when they all ſeparated. They then felt their weakneſs, and were ſeized with the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions. Charles did not let ſlip this favourable opportunity; he took the field in the middle of winter, and made himſelf maſter of ſome cities. Ulm ſubmitted, and by her example drew after her almoſt all the members of the league. They were obliged to beg for mercy on their knees, and bear the inſults of a haughty prince, who condemned them to pay ſevere fines, as if he had been already ſure of fortune.

The confederates divide, & ſue for pardon.

Meantime the elector of Saxony had recovered his dominions, and even deprived the treacherous Maurice of all Miſnia, except Leipſic and Dreſden. But the emperour propoſed to cruſh him, as well as the landgrave of Heſſe. However, this deſign was ſuſpended by the conjunctures. Paul III. already repented of having contributed to the growth of a power, that might one day make Italy its victim; beſides, he was offended that he received no ſhare of the conqueſts nor of the contributions, and that the conqueror, far from manifeſting his zeal for the faith, tolerated Lutheraniſm in his camp. He therefore withdrew his troops, and by that means conſiderably weakened the imperial army.

Saxony recovered by the elector.

Paul III. grows jealous, and withdraws his troops.

At the ſame time advice was received of the extraordinary conſpiracy formed by Fieſco, a noble and opulent Genoeſe, who undertook to exterminate the Dorias, and make himſelf maſter of the republic. This plot, which was managed with equal addreſs and reſolution, miſcarried only by accident; Fieſco being drowned in the harbour, where he had juſt ſeized the fleet. Charles ſuſpected that ſuch an attempt would not have been made without the privity of the French and Roman courts; that a ſtorm was ſomewhere brooding againſt him; and prudently ſtopped ſhort in the middle of his exploits.

Conſpiracy of Fieſco at Genoa.

1557. Francis I. dies while preparing

In fact, Francis I. ſeriouſly thought of reſtoring the balance, which was neceſſary to prevent the oppreſſion of all Europe. He negotiated with Soliman, the pope, the

the Venetians, the Proteſtants of Germany, and with England and Denmark. He increaſed his revenues, raiſed troops, and formed magazines. Experience had given him prudence, and he was no longer miſled by his paſſions. Charles therefore muſt have had a great deal to fear; but fortune, which was always ſo favourable to him, ſeemed again to ſerve his ambition. Francis died, at the age of fifty two, of that ſhameful diſtemper, which is brought on by debauchery, and which had been imported with the gold of America.

to reſtore the balance of power.

His good and bad qualities.

The fine qualities of this prince, his open temper, beneficence, honour, generoſity, and courage, have not been able to cover his faults; raſhneſs in his enterpriſes, negligence in his affairs, fickleneſs in his conduct, prodigality in his expenſes, and exceſs in his pleaſures. Whatever merit he was poſſeſſed of, he would have met with fewer encomiums, had he not careſſed and favoured men of letters, by whoſe ſuffrages the reputation of ſovereigns is fixed. He founded the royal college and printing houſe. At the ſame time that he encouraged the culture of the learned languages, he had the prudence to command that the public acts ſhould be written in French. In the ſame manner he gave life to the fine arts, built Fontainbleau, and began the Louvre. In order to poliſh the manners of the court, he drew to it the moſt reſpectable women and diſtinguiſhed prelates. But the women and prelates ſoon filled it with intrigues.

Protection granted to learning and the arts.

Barbarity committed in Provence under pretext of religion.

It was the cardinal de Tournon, a man unqueſtionably of greater zeal than humanity, who principally enforced the execution of a barbarous arret, iſſued by the parliament of Aix, which had been ſome years ſuſpended by the court, and whoſe conſequences were horrible.

That court had condemned to the flames, as heretics, all the maſters of families of Merindol; at the ſame time giving order to raze all the houſes of that large market town, and even to root up the trees of the neighbouring foreſts. As ſoon as the court had permitted

mitted the execution of this arret, two magiſtrates, more deſerving the name of executioners, at the head of a body of troops, committed cruelties which certainly had not been foreſeen. They maſſacred three thouſand perſons, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The little town of Cabrières and Merindol, with twenty two towns or villages, fell a prey to the flames. An act of barbarity, ſo proper to bring an odium on the Catholics, may be looked upon as the ſignal for thoſe atrocious wars, which fanaticiſm afterwards lighted up in the kingdom.

Bretagne united to the crown.

Under this reign Bretagne was reunited to the crown, in 1532; the Bretons having been prevailed on to make it their own requeſt.

Death of Henry VIII.

Two months before the death of Francis I. happened that of Henry VIII. a deſpot in every thing, except the levying of ſubſidies. The ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries had procured him great riches, from which he reaped no advantage; their revenues being ſwallowed up by the courtiers. Charles V. blamed him for *having killed the hen which laid golden eggs*; becauſe in fact he had deprived himſelf of very high taxes which were formerly levied on the church and the monks. By his will the crown devolved to young prince Edward, ſon of Jane Seymour; in default of that prince, to Mary, daughter of Catharine of Arragon; and afterwards to Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn. All three reigned in ſucceſſion.

CHAP. VII.

The Germanic Liberty oppreſſed by Charles V.—*Henry* II. *King of France.—Progreſs of the Council of Trent.*

Charles V. ſeizes Saxony.

HENRY II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Francis I. a warlike prince, but deſtitute of prudence, was more fit for obeying the dictates of a miſtreſs, than purſuing

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a grand ſyſtem of politics. The emperour's apprehenſions were removed, and he haſtened the execution of his deſign againſt the chiefs of the Proteſtant league. He advanced towards Saxony with only ſixteen thouſand men; but they were veteran troops, and equivalent to a numerous army; and arriving on the banks of the Elbe, oppoſite to Muhlberg, he ventured, in oppoſition to the repreſentations of his officers, to paſs that river, which is three hundred paces wide, in ſight of the enemy. He animated his troops by ſharing their danger; and the ſucceſs crowned his valour, and juſtified his hopes.

The elector, John Frederic, too irreſolute and cautious in his deliberations, though extremely brave in action, and fearleſs in the midſt of ſtorms, had taken no one proper meaſure. He was encamped at Mulhauſen, near Muhlberg, when, receiving the unexpected news that the emperour had paſſed the river, and was advancing to attack him, he collected the whole vigour of his ſoul, prepared for a battle, and fought with heroic courage. Being defeated, wounded, and taken priſoner, he bore the haughty inſults of the conqueror without the leaſt marks of diſcouragement or vexation. It was to be preſumed that Wittemberg, his capital, would ſubmit, in the conſternation ſpread by his defeat. But the electreſs, Sibilla of Cleves, a woman who deſerves to be immortalized, encouraged the inhabitants, provided againſt every poſſible exigency, and made the emperour apprehend that he ſhould miſcarry in his attempt upon that place.

The elector, John Frederic, defeated at Mulhauſen, and taken priſoner.

In this embarraſſment, the politics of Charles V. made him have recourſe to an act of deſpotiſm, which ſtained his glory, while it ſecured his ſucceſs. He cauſed the elector to be condemned by a court martial, compoſed of Italians and Spaniards, in defiance of the laws of the empire. The ſentence being notified to the priſoner, while he was playing at cheſs, he replied coolly—*I ſhall die without reluctance, if my death will ſave the*

He is condemned to death, without being ſhaken,

the honour of my family, and the inheritance of my children; and then continued his game, as if nothing could move him.

He gives up his electorate, at the entreaty of his family.

His wife and family, more terrified at this news than at the imperial arms, thought only of ſaving his life. Their letters and entreaties determined him to conclude a treaty, by which he put his electorate into the hands of the emperour, on condition that his life ſhould be ſpared, and the city of Gotha given to his children, with a penſion of fifty thouſand florins. The traitor Maurice had the ſpoils of his unfortunate couſin. Had Charles kept ſo rich a prize, he would have betrayed the ambition which ſecretly preyed upon his heart.

The landgrave of Heſſe ſubmits.

His conduct to Philip, landgrave of Heſſe, was ſtill more odious, becauſe fraud opened the way for violence. The landgrave, terrified by the fate of the elector, made his ſubmiſſion; Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, becoming ſureties that the emperour ſhould not detain him priſoner; and ſigned the articles impoſed upon him, which were, to give up his perſon and dominions to the diſpoſal of Charles, to come and aſk pardon on his knees, &c. He ſubmitted to the humiliation of this mortifying ceremony; but when he was afterwards preparing to depart, he was arreſted by the duke of Alva, and put under confinement. The two princes with whom he had negotiated in vain conjured the emperour not to expoſe them to the diſgrace which this ſtep would infallibly bring upon them. His haughty and inflexible ſoul rejected their entreaties, and deſpiſed the tranſports of the landgrave's rage. The intoxication of proſperity called forth all his poiſon.

He is treacherouſly kept priſoner.

Odious deſpotiſm of the emperour.

The conqueror publicly inſulted the Germanic body, by leading its principal members in captivity from town to town, and among others the elector of Saxony. He oppreſſed all who had joined in the league of Smalkald with heavy taxes, carried off their artillery, and diſarmed the people; levied contributions at his pleaſure from his allies, and treated them as if they had been

been his own ſubjects. By this means he raiſed a general diſcontent, the effects of which could be ſuſpended only by a panic that would be of no long duration. Ferdinand exerciſed the ſame deſpotiſm over the Bohemians, and ſtripped them of almoſt all their privileges.

A diet was aſſembled at Augſburg, where the emperour reſolved to terminate the religious diſputes, and began with ſeizing the cathedral, where he reſtored the Romiſh worſhip; after which he made a ſpeech, enjoining ſubmiſſion to the council of Trent. But that council, of which ſo great hopes had been conceived, ſeemed already tottering to its fall. The pope, in order to ſecure an abſolute aſcendant over its deliberations, had removed it to Bologna, under pretext of an infectious diſtemper, and none but the biſhops ſubject to Charles V. remained at Trent. Symptoms of ſchiſm appeared, and reproaches were thrown out by both parties.

He reſtores the Romiſh worſhip at Augſburg, & ſpeaks in favour of the council.

But the council was on the point of breaking up.

The pope was irritated by the death of Peter Louis Farneſe, an execrable tyrant, who was aſſaſſinated by ſome conſpirators at Placentia; and the more, as a body of the imperial troops took poſſeſſion of that city. The principal aim of Paul III. was not to remedy the evils of the church, but to ſtir up enemies againſt the emperour.

Aſſaſſination of Peter Louis Farneſe.

Charles, after having fruitleſsly demanded, in name of the diet, that the council ſhould return from Bologna to Trent, and proteſted, with marks of contempt, againſt an aſſembly which depended on the court of Rome, undertook himſelf to regulate the faith, as he encroached upon the buſineſs of the empire. He publiſhed a body of doctrine in thirty ſix articles, called the *Interim*, which was to be in force till the deciſion of a true council; and his abſolute authority made it be paſſed in the diet without examination. The divines by whom that *Interim* was compoſed had inſerted it in the fundamentals of the Catholic doctrine, and preſerved the ancient form of worſhip; but they allowed the communion

1548. The emperour's *Interim* publiſhed at Augſburg.

communion in both kinds, and permitted married priests to perform the sacerdotal functions. This was enough to stir up the clamours of the Catholics, who could not bear the least innovation. The Protestants, whose system was overturned, complained still more bitterly. There never was an instance where temperaments in religious matters reconciled two parties, who by the heat of the disputes, and the very nature of things, must forever remain divided. The old crafty pope did not suffer himself to be hurried away by the torrent of zeal; and, foreseeing that the *Interim* would fall, politically kept silence.

It necessarily discontented the two parties.

But the emperour insisted on the observance of it with the authority of a master that would be obeyed; and all the princes, except the elector of Saxony, who continued inflexible, notwithstanding his captivity, bent their consciences to the yoke. But the free cities, less tractable, and animated by the zeal of the preachers, at first resisted with all the vigour of enthusiasm; upon which Charles put his army in motion, before they had time to form confederacies. Augsburg and Ulm lost their privileges, their government, and their liberty; and this example spread a terrour, which under the appearance of submission fostered the hatred against what was on that occasion styled Popery.

It is established by terrour.

1549. Paul III. attempts to reunite Parma & Placentia to the Holy See.

Meantime the pope, being filled with uneasiness for the loss of Placentia, was contriving means for its recovery; but could find no other than reuniting to the Holy See those two dutchies which he had settled on his bastard. He thought that St. Peter's patrimony would be more respected than his own family's; and Octavio Farnese, son and heir of Peter Louis, was to be indemnified by some other settlement. But that young prince, far from agreeing to the pope's views, attempted to seize on the town of Parma; and, being unable to succeed, entered into a negotiation with the emperour, to whom he was desirous of being indebted for his fortune. Paul III. was so irritated by this procedure, that

Octavio Farnese opposes him.

his

his death is attributed to the exceſs of his vexation; but an old man of fourſcore and two might ſink into the grave by the mere decay of age. Death of the pope.

In 1450, Paul had approved the order of Jeſuits, then in its infancy; becauſe St. Ignatius, its founder, ſubjected it entirely to the orders of the pope. A particular vow of obedience, which connected that order more than any other with the court of Rome, fitted it, in a particular manner, for the execution of his deſigns. The number of the monks was at firſt limited to threeſcore; notwithſtanding which, the old and new world, the cities and courts, were ſoon filled with Jeſuits. That body, in which abilities and virtues were often united with prejudices and dangerous doctrines, was deſtined one day to draw upon itſelf the moſt violent ſtorms, for the very reaſon that it acquired too great power. Origin of the Jeſuits.

1550. Beginning of the pontificate of Julius III.

The new pope, Julius III. a creature of Paul, who was indebted for his election to the family of Farneſe, in teſtimony of his gratitude, put Octavio in poſſeſſion of Parma. But this inſtance of generoſity did him leſs honour, than he himſelf did hurt to his reputation, by giving a cardinal's hat to an obſcure youth of ſixteen, whoſe ſole merit conſiſted in amuſing him, and taking care of an ape which he kept; an inconceivable weakneſs, eſpecially at a time when the Holy See was expoſed to ſo many ſatires.

He again aſſembles the council of Trent.

Julius, as well as all the cardinals, had bound himſelf by oath, that immediately after the election, the council ſhould be again aſſembled, which had been diſſolved by Paul III. But he was not eager in the performance of this obligation, as he knew by experience, having preſided in it in quality of legate, how difficult a taſk it is to govern ſuch aſſemblies; yet, at laſt, to ſatisfy the emperour, he ſummoned it anew to meet at Trent. The diet of Augſburg acknowledged its authority, from want of power to oppoſe Charles; and that prince promiſed full ſecurity to the Proteſtants who ſhould attend it, as well as to the Catholics.

His

Charles V. forms designs on Parma.

His innumerable projects of ambition neceſſarily croſſed the deſign of reſtoring uniformity in religion, which was more ſpecious than ſolid. He was in poſſeſſion of Placentia, to which he was deſirous of adding Parma; and Julius III. not daring to declare againſt him in favour of Octavio Farneſe, to whom he even repented that he had reſtored the dutchy; the duke, being threatened with invaſion, ſolicited the aid of the French king.

France met with no diſturbance from England during the reign of Edward VI.

Henry II. then found himſelf in a condition to attack the houſe of Auſtria. England, after the death of Henry VIII. was filled with diſturbances under the minor king. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerſet, uncle of Edward VI. by the mother's ſide, and abſolute maſter of the kingdom, under the title of protector, had totally changed the religious ſyſtem of the laſt reign, aboliſhed the ceremonies of the church, and eſtabliſhed the rigid and impoſing doctrine of Calvin. He had carried a war into Scotland, where fanaticiſm likewiſe began to work, and hoped to reunite the two kingdoms, by the marriage of the queen, Mary Stuart, with the king of England; but the courage of the Scots was revived by the ſuccours that arrived from France. Mary had been contracted to the dauphin; Somerſet, ſurrounded with cabals, had loſt his authority; and Boulogne had been reſtored to France for four hundred thouſand crowns.

1551. Henry II. undertakes the defence of Farneſe.

It was therefore natural that Henry, who was filled with the ſame ſentiments as his father, againſt the ambitious Charles V. ſhould ſnatch the opportunity of ſtopping him in his rapid career of fortune. The treaty with Farneſe was concluded in a ſhort time, upon the news of which Julius immediately confiſcated the dutchy of Parma, and united with the emperour. The war was concluded without any memorable event. Parma ſuſtained a ſiege, which was raiſed by the imperialiſts, and part of the eccleſiaſtical territories was ravaged by the French.

The

The council renewed its deliberations; and, though there were only about ſixty prelates aſſembled, who were almoſt all Italians or Spaniards, with a few Germans, the moſt eſſential points were determined, concerning the euchariſt, penance, and extreme unction, without regard to a formal proteſt entered by the king of France. The emperour prohibited the Lutherans from teaching a contrary doctrine, baniſhed their miniſters, and perſecuted whoever did not take his will for a rule of their belief.

Important deciſions of the council, tho' not numerous.

During the diet at Augſburg, he had given a proof of deſpotiſm, which is unparalleled in profane hiſtory. Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, renewing their ſolicitations for the deliverance of the landgrave of Heſſe, and inſiſting on the engagement by which they had become ſureties that no violence ſhould be offered to his perſon, he had abſolved them from their obligations in this reſpect, as if honour, good faith and conſcience, had been ſubject to his dominion. The Proteſtants did not fail to charge him with arrogating the ſame ſpiritual authority as the popes.

New inſtances of the emperour's deſpotiſm

CHAP. VIII.

Maurice of Saxony humbles Charles V.—*Henry* II. *takes and keeps the three Biſhoprics.*

SO many odious attempts againſt the liberties of the Germanic body neceſſarily brought on a revolution. Maurice, the moſt potent of the German princes, after the addition of the electorate of Saxony to his hereditary dominions, ſecretly formed the deſign of balancing ſo overgrown a power. Equally crafty and ambitious, he found means to enjoy the confidence of the emperour, of whom he always appeared a zealous partiſan, and of the Proteſtants themſelves, whoſe opinions he

Artful policy of Maurice of Saxony.

he ſtill maintained, though he had betrayed their cauſe. After having obliged his ſubjects to conform to the *Interim*, by the help of the timid Melancthon, who was no longer ſupported by the firmneſs of Luther, he had ſilenced the clamours of the bigots, by a public declaration of his zeal for the reformation. He had ſolemnly promiſed that he would reject the council of Trent, unleſs the points already determined were debated anew, and a right of ſuffrage was granted to the Proteſtant divines. In the mean time, the diet of Augſburg, which was entirely at the emperour's devotion, had named him general of the war againſt Magdeburg, which had been put under the ban of the empire, for vigorouſly oppoſing the *Interim*.

He is made general againſt Magdeburg.

He forces that Lutheran city, and regains the confidence of the inhabitants.

That town ſuſtained a ſiege of twelve months, religious zeal adding new ſtrength to the love of liberty, and Maurice protracting the war, without diſcovering his deſigns. The articles of the capitulation were even conformable to the views of Charles; but the elector gave private aſſurances, that the inhabitants ſhould neither be deprived of the public exerciſe of Lutheraniſm, nor of any of their privileges. In a word, he ſo totally extinguiſhed the hatred with which they were tranſported againſt him during the ſiege, that they elected him burgrave, a title formerly annexed to the electorate of Saxony, and which gave great authority. This prince advanced to his aim with admirable prudence. The emperour, who was at Inſpruck, had his attention too much abſorbed in the affairs of the council, and did not entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion. Thus does cunning ſometimes fall into the ſnares which it lays for others.

Though leagued with France, he ſtill diſſembles.

Maurice had already entered into a league with France, by which it was ſtipulated, that Henry II. and he ſhould declare war at the ſame time againſt the oppreſſor of Germany. Religion was not conſidered in this treaty, which was, on that account, only more conformable to political intereſt. Before Maurice pulled

off

off the maſk, he again demanded the liberty of the landgrave, his father in law; and the refuſal which he met with was an additional juſtification of his attempt. The famous Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, a miniſter of diſtinguiſhed abilities, had ſome information of the elector's proceedings, and blinded himſelf by an exceſs of confidence, ſaying, that *a drunken German was not capable of impoſing upon him*; yet he was more impoſed upon than any body. Two Saxon miniſters were corrupted, on whoſe attachment he repoſed entire confidence; and the prince having diſcovered their perfidy, diſſembled with ſo much art to his two miniſters, that he made their correſpondence with Granvelle a means of diſpelling all jealouſy.

He even deceives the able Granvelle.

When every thing was ready for action, Maurice took up arms, and publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth his motives, which were calculated to gain the different parties. His deſign was to ſecure the proteſtant religion, to maintain the conſtitution and liberties of Germany, and to deliver the landgrave of Heſſe from an unjuſt impriſonment. Such were the reaſons which he alledged for his proceedings. Immediately after appeared a manifeſto of the king of France, in which Henry II. aſſumed the title of *Protector of the liberties of Germany and its captive princes*; and declared his purpoſe of ſecuring the independence of all the members of the empire.

1552. At laſt he declares himſelf.

Manifeſto of Henry II.

The emperour, who was at Inſpruck, almoſt without troops, without money, in an ill ſtate of health, and lulled in ſecurity, was ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this unexpected news, and his conſternation was redoubled by the activity of his enemies. Toul, Verdun, and Metz, fell without reſiſtance into the hands of Henry; and Maurice croſſed High Germany. He accepted a conference at Lintz with the king of the Romans, that he might ſhew pacific ſentiments; but it ended only in appointing another. He rapidly continued his march towards the country of

Conqueſt of the three biſhoprics.

Tirol, forcing the obſtacles that retarded his progreſs, and reckoned upon ſurpriſing Charles at Inſpruck; but ſome hours before his arrival, the emperour had taken flight during the night, in the time of a dreadful ſtorm, racked with the gout, and carried in a litter through the middle of the Alps. However, he had the good fortune to get ſafe to Villach, a ſtrong place in Carinthia.

The emperour eſcapes by flight from Inſpruck.

Maurice returned in triumph to Paſſaw, the place agreed upon for a ſecond interview with Ferdinand, to which deputies were ſent by almoſt all Germany. He limited his demands to the three articles ſet forth in his manifeſto: the deliverance of the landgrave, the public exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, and the reſtoration of the privileges and liberties of Germany; which were preſented to the emperour, in the name of all the ſtates of the empire, the Lutherans being on that occaſion ſeconded by the Catholics. Charles anſwered with his uſual haughtineſs, flattering himſelf that by this means he ſhould gain time; but the elector immediately having recourſe again to arms, he became more tractable, the negotiation was renewed, and both parties being deſirous of peace, either from neceſſity, or dread of what might happen, it was concluded in a ſhort time.

Conferences at Paſſaw.

The principal conditions were, that the landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, that the *Interim* ſhould be aboliſhed, and a diet aſſembled in ſix months to terminate the religious differences; that, in the mean time, liberty of conſcience ſhould be enjoyed in the fulleſt manner, and Proteſtants might even be admitted into the imperial chamber; that if the diet did not put an end to the eccleſiaſtical diſputes, the treaty now concluded ſhould remain perpetually in force, ſo far as it regarded that matter; and, laſtly, that the examination of the grievances affecting the liberties of the empire, ſhould be referred to the approaching diet.

Conditions impoſed on Charles V.

Though the confederates owed a great deal to the king of France, and had engaged neither to make peace

The king of France abandoned by his allies.

nor

nor truce without his consent, he was scarcely named in the treaty.—"He experienced the same treatment, "which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors "of a civil war, may expect, *(says Dr. Robertson.)* "As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and "any prospect of accommodation to open, his services "were forgotten; and his associates made a merit with "their sovereign, of the ingratitude with which they "abandoned their protector." Henry dissembled his vexation, and resolved to defend his conquests. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this prince, who persecuted the sectaries in his own kingdom, secured their establishment in Germany.

The council again broken up.

The attempts of Charles V. to force consciences ended in the same manner. He did not even see the termination of the council, whose decisions he vainly hoped would reconcile the two churches. The terrour of Maurice's arms having reached as far as Trent, the German bishops immediately retired; and the legate who presided was highly pleased with an opportunity of dismissing the rest.

The demand of the Protestants.

There had been great disputes with regard to the safe conduct demanded by the Protestants for their divines; they desired to have a voice in the deliberations and decisions; that the scripture should be adopted for the sole rule; and that the pope should be subject to the decrees of the assembly. But how could such pretensions be admitted? And if they had, how could the two parties act in concert, understand each other, and come to an agreement? The whole of ecclesiastical history, from the birth of Arianism, demonstrates, that the spirit of sects is equally obstinate in dispute, and inflexible after decision. Councils have determined doctrines, but they have never subjected nor persuaded heretics.

Great preparations for the recovery of the three

John Frederic, the former elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, who were set at liberty after the accommodation at Passaw, wished only to enjoy the

biſhoprics.

ſweets of tranquillity. Albert alone, margrave of Brandenburg Anſpach, had refuſed to ſubſcribe the pacification, and continued his ravages in High Germany. The emperour, leſs ſolicitous to ſtop his depredations, than eager to be avenged of the French king, made great preparations for recovering what he had loſt in Lorraine. By the conqueſt of the three biſhoprics, Champagne had gained a ſtrong frontier, and the empire was expoſed to the French arms. It was therefore of the laſt importance to retake them; and Charles reſolved to employ all his forces in the attempt. He came and laid ſiege to Metz with an army of ſixty thouſand men, where he was joined by Albert of Brandenburg, who had for ſome time heſitated to which of the two monarchs he ſhould ſell his ſervices.

The duke of Guiſe makes preparations for the defence of Metz.

The danger had been foreſeen, and prudent meaſures taken. Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guiſe, had undertaken the defence of Metz, a town of vaſt extent, ill fortified, and in no condition of itſelf to ſuſtain a long ſiege. The principal noblemen of the kingdom, animated by his courage and example, haſtened to ſhare in the glory of the attempt. In a ſhort time, he repaired the fortifications, and ſtrengthened the place with new works; labouring with the ſoldiers, inſpiring courage wherever he appeared, and even making fatigue pleaſing by his talent of winning affection. Neither ſending away the uſeleſs mouths, deſtroying the ſuburbs and the mills, laying waſte the country round, nor the ſevere orders dictated by precaution, raiſed the ſlighteſt murmur. He made the people ſenſible that theſe ſacrifices were due to their country.

The emperour raiſes the ſiege.

The emperour, who was always obſtinate in his reſolutions, notwithſtanding the beſt counſels, began the ſiege about the end of October, and thought himſelf ſuperiour to the obſtacles, which were repreſented to him, in the cleareſt manner, by his generals. But he was puniſhed for his preſumptuous confidence. After ſpending ſixty five days in fruitleſs efforts, with the loſs

of

of thirty thouſand men, by the valour of the beſieged, the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and diſeaſes, he ſuddenly drew off his army.—*I perceive*, ſaid he, *that fortune, like other females, forſakes old men, to laviſh her favours on the young*. But this diſaſter deſerved more ſerious reflections.

His loſſes in Italy.

Fortune gave him other ſubjects of mortification in Italy. He loſt the principality of Piombino, which his neceſſities obliged him to ſell for an inconſiderable ſum to Coſmo Medici. Sienna drove out the Spaniſh garriſon, and put itſelf under the protection of France. The coaſts of Calabria were ravaged by Dragut, a pupil of Barbaroſſa, who had been ſent by Soliman at the head of a fleet. The Turks waited for the French ſquadron before Naples; but that being retarded by ſome unknown obſtacles, and no news of it arriving, they returned to Conſtantinople.

1553. Death of the famous Maurice of Saxony.

The formidable Albert of Brandenburg, having been put under the ban of the empire, for new acts of violence, again laid waſte part of Germany; but was defeated at Sieverhauſen, in the dutchy of Lunenburg, by the army of the empire, under the command of Maurice of Saxony, who fell in the arms of victory. Could any thing wipe out the acts of treachery committed by this elector, too great admiration could not be paid to his ſucceſs, for which he was indebted to miracles of political wiſdom. As he left only one daughter (afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange) John Frederic, whom he had unjuſtly deprived of his dominions, reclaimed the electoral dignity; but Auguſtus, brother of Maurice, carried it againſt him, even by the judgment of the ſtates of Saxony; and the electorate has always remained in poſſeſſion of the younger branch, named Albertine, though, in the order of nature, it belonged to the Erneſtine; only Altenburg was added to the ſhare of John Frederic. That prince died next year, whoſe virtues made him more reſpectable in his adverſity, than his oppreſſor had been in a brilliant, but guilty proſperity.

His branch (the Albertine) remains in poſſeſſion of the electorate.

Death of John Frederic.

Let

Events of war.

Let us take a ſhort view of the conſequences of the war between France and the emperour, which were calamitous to the ſubjects of both nations, who fell victims to the fruitleſs animoſity of the princes. Charles, having taken Terouane by aſſault, razed that city, of which nothing now remains but the name. Heſdin likewiſe fell into his hands. But this was all the advantage he reaped from a campaign, the expenſes of which had ſwallowed up his treaſures. The year following, the two hoſtile monarchs appeared at the head of their troops, in the Low Countries, but performed no action worthy of their preparations. Coſmo Medici took arms in Italy, to drive the French out of Sienna; and Strozzi, a Florentine, who commanded the army of that kingdom, loſt the battle of Marciano, which he ought not to have fought; but the brave Montluc defended Sienna no leſs than ten months, the love of liberty making the citizens bear all the ſeverities of famine. At laſt he capitulated, on condition that the republic ſhould preſerve its liberty and privileges under the protection of the empire (1555;) a capitulation almoſt no ſooner made than broken.

Strozzi and Montluc.

Conſpiracy of the Cordeliers at Metz.

The conqueſt which the emperour was moſt ambitious of making, and which he fruitleſſly attempted with all his forces, was very near being put into his hands by a conſpiracy of monks. The ſuperiour of the Cordeliers at Metz, a man of a bold, intriguing ſpirit, had inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the governour, and traitorouſly formed a deſign to deliver up the town to the enemy; for which purpoſe he ſeduced the monks of his monaſtery, and received into it a number of ſoldiers diſguiſed in the habit of Cordeliers, who were to open the gates to the garriſon of Thionville. The plot was diſcovered on the very day appointed for the execution; and the ſuperiour condemned to death, with twenty of his monks; who, being left together in a chamber to confeſs each other, murdered him with their own hands, and beat to death

Puniſhment of the criminals.

five

ſive of the eldeſt among them, that had joined with him in ſeducing the reſt. The criminals would have been pardoned, in conſideration of their habit, had not the example appeared abſolutely neceſſary. Only ſix of the youngeſt were ſpared.

CHAP. IX.

Reign of Mary in England.—Paul IV. *diſturbs Europe by his Ambition.—Abdication of Charles* V.

WHILE war was raging, to the misfortune of mankind, the inſatiable ambition of Charles V. opened a new career with ſucceſs. Edward VI. dying in 1553, at the age of fifteen, was ſucceeded by his ſiſter Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon. Dudley, duke of Northumberland, having made an attempt to ſet the crown on the head of Jane Gray, his daughter in law, and niece of Henry VIII. only ruined himſelf, his ſon, and that amiable, virtuous, and learned lady, whom he had forced into his meaſures. All three periſhed on the ſcaffold.

Mary had ſucceeded Edward VI. in England.

As Mary's huſband would neceſſarily mount the throne of England, Charles immediately conceived the deſign of procuring that kingdom for his ſon, who was heir to ſo vaſt dominions. Philip, equally ambitious with his father, readily conſented to marry a woman of thirty eight, though he was but twenty ſeven. The queen, being ſtrongly attached to a family from which ſhe was deſcended, and ſtill more zealous for the Romiſh religion, which ſhe was reſolved to eſtabliſh by the authority of law, or the force of perſecution, wiſhed for a huſband ſuch as Philip, whoſe violent zeal had been already manifeſted; and whoſe power facilitated the means of executing her deſigns. On the contrary, the Engliſh nation, apprehenſive for its religion and liberty, looked diſagreea-

Her marriage with Philip II.

ble to the Engliſh.

looked upon that marriage with horrour. But all obſtacles were ſurmounted by the emperour's intrigues and money. By the ſettlement it was agreed that Philip ſhould have the title of king; that the regal authority ſhould remain in the hands of Mary; that no violation ſhould be offered to the conſtitution, the national cuſtoms, &c.

1554. The Catholic religion reſtored.

On Philip's arrival in England, their ſuſpicions and apprehenſions were confirmed by his cold, imperious manner, his bigotry, and his inclination to deſpotiſm. One parliament, having thrown out ſome bills againſt hereſy, was immediately after diſſolved; but a ſecond gave itſelf up to the views of the court. Cardinal Pole, a deſcendant of the blood royal, who had been attainted ſeveral years before, was received in quality of the pope's legate. The two houſes repealed the acts for eſtabliſhing Proteſtantiſm, demanded abſolution, and requeſted the favour of being reconciled to the church of Rome, which they obtained without difficulty. Julius III. was agreeably ſurpriſed, when he received the thanks of the Engliſh *for ſuffering them to do what*, he ſaid, *he himſelf ought to thank them for having done.* Rome triumphed, but had reaſons to dread the loſs of her acquiſition.

Perſecution raiſed by Mary and Philip.

Thus we ſee three changes of religion, in three ſucceeding reigns. A fourth might have been foreſeen, as the parliaments were determined by the opinion of the ſovereign. Fire and ſword were employed againſt the heterodox; which was a means to render the belief, that ought to have been inſpired into men's minds, odious, and of ſhort duration. Mary and Philip, in their zeal, conſulted only their own tyrannical inclinations. A cruel inquiſition was eſtabliſhed among a people who have always been jealous of their liberties. Five biſhops, and among others the celebrated primate Cranmer, who had enjoyed the confidence of Henry VIII. courageouſly expired in the flames. In three years, hereſy reckoned up two hundred threeſcore and ſeven-

teen

teen martyrs, whoſe unſhaken fanaticiſm could only ſerve to inflame the enthuſiaſts, and irritate their hatred againſt the church. Theſe atrocious cruelties produced a diſcontent almoſt univerſal.

Whence the ſpirit of perſecution among Chriſtians proceeds.

To the barbariſm of manners, to the rage of ſuperſtition, to the examples of the early ages, which were too frequent, and ſometimes extolled in hiſtory, and to the abſurd madneſs of commanding the opinions of men, muſt be attributed that perſecuting ſpirit, ſo contrary to Chriſtianity, and nevertheleſs ſo contagious that it even infected the heads of the reformation, who, when they changed the doctrines, made it a capital crime to diſſent from their opinions. Under Edward VI. a prince naturally gentle, the fires were more than once lighted up for hereſy. One day, ſigning the warrant for the execution of a woman, he ſaid to Cranmer, with tears in his eyes—*If I am doing wrong, you ſhall be anſwerable for it.* Thus Cranmer, who was a man of known moderation, ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the torrent of cuſtom. Luther had been a violent perſecutor; and Servetus, a learned Spaniſh phyſician, was burnt at Geneva, by the inſtigation of Calvin, who accuſed him of being an enemy to the Trinity. Fanaticiſm was univerſally prevalent.

The heterodox adopted it, as well as the others.

Evils that neceſſarily reſulted from it.

Men's minds were not then ſufficiently enlightened to be convinced, that it is as unjuſt to puniſh opinions and errours with the ſeverities reſerved for the blackeſt criminals, as it is of importance to curb thoſe who attempt to diſturb the public peace, eſpecially in matters of religion. But ought they not to have foreſeen, that the perſecuted party, if at laſt it got the upper hand, would infallibly turn perſecutor?—that perſecution was a ſource of civil wars?—and that, under the ſpecious pretence of avenging the cauſe of God (who commands the exerciſe of fraternal charity to all men, without exception, or diſtinction of worſhip) the ſociety of Chriſtians was filled with animoſities, enmities, and violences, of which there are almoſt no examples to be found among the Pagans? The

1555. Eſtabliſhment of the peace of religion at the diet of Augſburg.

The fire which had firſt been kindled in Germany was happily extinguiſhed in that country, while it ſpread its ravages into other nations. The emperour had given up his ill grounded projects of deſpotiſm, and it was for the intereſt of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who held a new diet at Augſburg, to conciliate the hearts of the people. By the famous receſs of this diet, the peace of religion was eſtabliſhed on terms highly advantageous to both parties, though in ſome reſpects it was imperfect. Entire liberty of conſcience was granted to the ſtates which adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg; (neither Calviniſts nor Zuinglians enjoyed this privilege, and they obtained it only by the treaty of Weſtphalia.) It was enacted, that from thenceforth religious diſputes ſhould be terminated only by the pacific methods of conference and perſuaſion; (an excellent law, which ought to have prevented the civil wars.) The Proteſtants were left in poſſeſſion of the eccleſiaſtical property which they had ſeized. It was likewiſe agreed, that every beneficiary who forſook the Romiſh religion ſhould immediately loſe his benefice; to which they who had the right of collation ſhould name another, as being vacant. (This is the *eccleſiaſtical reſervation*; as equitable in its foundation, as proper to keep the clergy within the pale of the church.)

Articles of the receſs.

It was naturally offenſive to the court of Rome, which wanted to be the ſole judge.

Such an act could not but give offence to the court of Rome, both becauſe it proceeded from an aſſembly, great part of which conſiſted of laymen, and becauſe the popes arrogated to themſelves the excluſive right of judging in religious matters. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that it was not examined how far the right of kings and people, to decide in what is eſſentially neceſſary to the public tranquillity, may in ſome circumſtances extend; nor was it conſidered, that formerly eccleſiaſtical affairs were frequently decided in national aſſemblies, compoſed of the nobles and biſhops. The Holy See was believed to be injured, and a bloody war was kindled upon this account. Julius

Julius III. more addicted to pleaſures than to the cares of government, died, leaving a bad character. His ſucceſſor, Marcellus II. was worthy of the tiara, but poſſeſſed it only one and twenty days. (He kept his family at a diſtance from Rome.) Cardinal Caraffa ſucceeded him, under the name of Paul IV. and adopted a quite different ſyſtem. This pontiff, who was now fourſcore, had entered into the order of Dominicans early in life; had afterwards reſigned valuable benefices, in order to found the order of the Theatins, whoſe rules preſcribed the moſt rigid poverty, with a prohibition of aſking any thing in charity; and when he was again taken from the cloiſter, and promoted to the purple, had preſerved his former auſterity of manners. But on his mounting the papal throne, he ſhewed himſelf an entirely different man; affected extraordinary magnificence; and when the ſteward of his houſehold aſked how his table ſhould be furniſhed, proudly replied—*Like that of a great prince.* His nephews were inveſted with the firſt offices, who, being devoured with ambition, and guiding him at their pleaſure, perſuaded him to undertake a conqueſt, in order to procure dominions for them, and aggrandize his own.

Paul IV. (Caraffa) at firſt an auſtere monk.

He changes his way of life at the age of fourſcore.

His temper and principles afforded them means of puſhing him on to the boldeſt enterpriſes. Being a mortal enemy to the heretics, he had eſtabliſhed the inquiſition in Italy, and was tranſported with rage at the indulgence granted them in Germany. Being tainted with all the ancient prejudices of the papal power, he joined to them that arrogant pride which had been ſo often employed for their ſupport. His nephews determined him to propoſe to the king of France the conqueſt and diviſion of the kingdom of Naples; in which reſolution he was confirmed by the receſs of Augſburg, and threatened Charles V. and Ferdinand with his reſentment, if it was not immediately annulled. When the danger of attempting, and impoſſibility of executing

His harſh & haughty conduct.

He threatens the emperour, and enters into a

leaguewith France.

executing ſuch an act of violence were repreſented to him, he replied, that in the cauſe of God and the church, the wiſdom of this world ought not to be conſulted. After which he privately concluded his treaty with France, under pretext of defending the cauſe of God and the church.

1556. Abdication of Charles V. in favour of his ſon.

In the mean time, the emperour ſurpriſed Europe by an unforeſeen abdication, which confounded all the ideas of politicians. For ſome years he longed for retirement; the ſentiments of ambition, by which he had been kept in perpetual agitation, being blunted by diſeaſe, mortifications, and the decline of his fortune. Unable longer to ſupport the weight of buſineſs, and dreading the thoughts of throwing the load upon another, becauſe he made the ſucceſs depend upon himſelf, he was deſirous of preſerving his glory unobſcured; and flattered himſelf, that he ſhould increaſe it by devoting himſelf to ſolitude, in which religious motives likewiſe prompted him to work out his ſalvation. He had already ceded the Milaneſe and the kingdom of Naples to his ſon Philip, who was then twenty eight years of age, verſed in buſineſs, and capable of conducting it properly. In a great aſſembly of the ſtates, held at Bruſſels, he formally put him in poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, to which, a few months after, he added the crowns of Spain and America.

Speech which he made to Philip at Bruſſels.

On no conſideration violate the reſpect due to religion; maintain the Catholic faith in all its purity; always look upon the laws of the nation as ſacred; never infringe the rights or privileges of your people; and, if you ſhould one day be deſirous of enjoying the happineſs of a private life, may you have a ſon, to whom you can reſign the ſceptre with as great and juſt a ſatisfaction as I now feel in giving it to you! This diſcourſe, which he pronounced in the aſſembly at Bruſſels, made the audience melt into tears. Philip II. followed his father's advice in ſome articles, which were conformable to his own ſentiments. But we ſhall ſee him ſacrificing the rights of the ſubjects

jects to the superstitious zeal with which he was animated; and religion suffered by it as much as the people.

CHAP. X.

War between Henry II. *and Philip* II. *stirred up by Paul* IV.—*Death of Charles* V.

Truce of five years concluded by Charles V.

THE glory of Charles V. would have been crowned by ending the war with France, and giving peace to all Europe, after having deluged it with blood; he therefore undertook the work. A truce of five years was concluded, during which each power was to remain in possession of its conquests. The constable Montmorenci, who had prudently opposed the league with Rome, determined Henry to accept this truce, by which he not only preserved the three bishoprics, but almost all the dominions belonging to the house of Savoy. But the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal de Lorraine, were too ambitious patiently to bear the public tranquillity.

But the war is re-kindled by the ambition of Paul IV. and the Guises.

The treaty with Caraffa had been concluded by their advice, and they took measures with great address for carrying it into execution; at the same time, Paul IV. exerted his crafty policy, while he testified that desire of peace, which the quality of common father required, and assumed the appearance of mediator: he pressed the court of France to renew her first engagements, and represented the conquest of Naples as an easy matter. The Guises, and the famous Diana de Poitiers, dutchess of Valentinois, Henry's mistress, gave weight to those reasons, which good faith and the public weal ought to have condemned. The monarch had sworn to the truce;

truce; but the cardinal Caraffa, nuncio from the pope, made no difficulty of abſolving him from his oath.

Violent meaſures taken by the pope.

As ſoon as Paul was acquainted with the ſucceſs of the negotiation, in defiance even of the rules of decency, he impriſoned a Spaniſh miniſter; excommunicated the Colonnas, who were attached to the imperial family; and declared Philip guilty of felony, and deprived of his right to the kingdom of Naples, for having ſupported them.

Scruples of Philip II.

This prince, who was equally ſuperſtitious and political, did not dare to take arms without conſulting the theologians. Their opinion being favourable, the duke of Alva, who commanded in Italy, carried terror to the gates of Rome; and the pope, notwithſtanding his unconquerable obſtinacy, was obliged to ſue for a ſuſpenſion of arms, and obtained it, becauſe the king of Spain was ſtill haunted with the ſame ſcruples.

1557. The duke of Guiſe miſcarries in the Neapolitan war.

On the arrival of the duke of Guiſe, who was inveſted with the command of the troops, Paul ſhewed himſelf more audacious than ever, publiſhing anathemas, and thinking himſelf maſter of Naples. Yet he could neither furniſh the troops nor the money which he had promiſed, and the luſtre of the duke's reputation was tarniſhed by a fruitleſs campaign; while France, engaged in a deſtructive war, by the ambition of that nobleman and the Cardinal de Lorraine, found itſelf expoſed to the greateſt dangers.

Siege of St. Quintin.

The queen of England, a ſlave to the will of Philip, who did not love her, and equally odious to the nation with her huſband, had entered into a league with him againſt Henry II. notwithſtanding the repugnance of the Engliſh. Soon after, Picardy was invaded by a formidable army, which laid ſiege to St. Quintin. Theſe troops were commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, an excellent general; and Philip, who was by no means jealous of military glory, remained at a diſtance proper for watching the events. As this ſiege had not been foreſeen, the place was unprovided.

Happily,

Happily, the admiral de Coligni, one of the greateſt captains of the age, had the courage to throw himſelf into it with a few troops; but his uncle, the conſtable de Montmorenci, eager to relieve him, ventured a battle with a force much inferiour to that of the enemy; and the duke of Savoy, taking advantage of that errour, attacked him, made him priſoner, and cut his army in pieces, with the loſs of ſcarcely a hundred men.

Montmorenci defeated by the duke of Savoy.

Had Philip II. been leſs timid or leſs circumſpect; had he ventured, as he was adviſed by the general, to march directly to Paris, which was filled with the greateſt conſternation by the news of the battle of St. Quintin, he probably would have met with ſcarce any reſiſtance; but he obſtinately continued the ſiege of the town. The French recovered from their panic, the nobility flew to arms through the whole kingdom, the cities ſignalized their zeal by voluntary contributions, and the king was ſoon in a condition to defend himſelf. St. Quintin, Catelet, Ham, and Noyon, were the ſole fruits of a victory which threatened deſtruction to that potent monarchy.

Philip draws little advantage from his victory.

An action now done by Philip will give a characteriſtic idea of his devotion. In memory of the battle which was gained upon St. Laurence's day, he made a vow to erect a church, a monaſtery, and a palace, conſecrated to that holy martyr, and ordered them to be built in the form of a gridiron; becauſe St. Laurence had been burned on a gridiron, according to the writers of the legends. The work was continued twenty two years at immenſe expenſe. Such is the original of the Eſcurial, near Madrid, which is become the reſidence of the Spaniſh monarchs.

The eſcurial built, in conſequence of a vow.

The duke of Guiſe had been recalled from Italy to defend the kingdom, of which Paul IV. complained as an act of treachery. Peace became neceſſary to him; and he turned Philip's ſuperſtitious diſquiets to ſoo good account, that he made it one of the articles of the treaty, that the duke of Alva ſhould come to Rome, and

Paul IV. makes peace with Spain, and humbles it.

aſk

aſk pardon for having attacked the patrimony of the church. The haughty Spaniard ſubmitted in the king's name to this humiliating condition. Philip reſtored Placentia to the duke of Parma, whom he was deſirous of attaching to his intereſt. Coſmo, duke of Tuſcany, had the addreſs to obtain Sienna for the money due to him by the king. At this time, the ſtates of Italy acquired ſtability, the balance was more equal, and the great efforts of war turned to another quarter.

1558. Calais taken by the duke of Guiſe.

Meantime the duke of Guiſe, who was received in France as a ſaviour, and nominated lieutenant general of the kingdom, meditated an expedition worthy of his genius and glory. He put himſelf in motion in the middle of winter, deceived the enemy by falſe marches, and ſuddenly laid ſiege to Calais. That place, which for upwards of two hundred years had afforded the enemy an open paſſage into France, which Edward III. could not take in leſs time than eleven months, and which paſſed for impregnable, was forced in eight days. The Engliſh uſually withdrew almoſt the whole garriſon at the end of autumn; and Mary's council was ſo blind, as even to neglect the advice of Philip, who wanted to throw a body of troops into the town. Some of them carried their confidence ſo far as to ſay, that if Calais was attacked during the winter, they would undertake to defend it with their white rods. Thus do people bring misfortunes on themſelves for want of foreſeeing dangers. Guines was carried by aſſault, and there remained nothing more to the Engliſh in the kingdom.

Taking of Thionville.

After this glorious conqueſt, the duke paſſed his winter's leiſure in preparing for new enterpriſes. He next made himſelf maſter of Thionville, which ſuſtained a ſiege of three months; but a French army, under the command of the mareſchal de Termes, was defeated by

Battle of Gravelines.

the count d'Egmond at Gravelines. Chance, on this, as on many other occaſions, decided the fate of arms. The French, though much inferiour in number, made

the

the victory doubtful, when an Engliſh ſquadron came up at the noiſe of the firing, and played on them with its artillery. About two thouſand fell in the field; and the general was taken priſoner, with a number of officers of diſtinction.

All parties diſpoſed for peace.

The two monarchs were equally deſirous of peace: Philip, becauſe he longed to return into Spain, not being able to endure any other reſidence; and Henry, becauſe he had above all things at heart, to ſtop the progreſs of hereſy in his kingdom. Beſides, the dutcheſs de Valentinois, being diſcontented with the Guiſes, whoſe credit was increaſed by the war, inſpired him with ſuch ſentiments as ſhe thought moſt to her own advantage. Montmorenci, therefore, who was ſtill in the hands of the Spaniards, was authorized to enter into a negotiation, the ſucceſs of which we ſhall ſee afterwards.

Charles V leaves the empire to his brother Ferdinand againſt his will.

Had the empire been in the diſpoſal of Charles, in the ſame manner as his hereditary dominions, he would have left the whole power in the hands of his ſon. He heartily repented of having procured to his brother the title of king of the Romans; had twice attempted to prevail on him to renounce it, offering him ſome fiefs in exchange; and on Ferdinand's refuſal, had even ſtriven, to as little purpoſe, to gain a diet. The Germanic body felt by experience how dangerous a formidable head was to its liberty. Before Charles retired from the world, he made another effort; but, not being able to overcome his brother's oppoſition, abdicated the imperial crown in his favour. The act, though made in 1556, was preſented to the electors only in the beginning of 1558.

Oppoſition of Paul IV. to the acts of the diet.

The diet of Francfort readily acknowledged Ferdinand I. but he found ſtrange difficulties at Rome, where his ambaſſadour ſhewed the pope the ordinary marks of reſpect. Paul IV. as infatuated with the prerogatives of his ſee as if he had lived two centuries before, declared the acts of the diet null; maintaining,

that in caſe of reſignation, it was his privilege to name an emperour; that Ferdinand had made himſelf unworthy of the empire, by favouring the heretics; and that the Proteſtant electors had loſt their right of ſuffrage by ſeparating from the church of Rome. He inſiſted, that the emperour ſhould expreſs his repentance for what was paſt, renounce the title with which he had been irregularly inveſted at Francfort, and ſubmit to the authority and clemency of the pope. In vain did the king of Spain, in the warmeſt manner, preſs the pope to deſiſt from ſuch extravagant pretenſions. The emperour was not acknowledged by the court of Rome during that pontificate.

What he required.

Charles V. had retired into the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, in Eſtremadura; there, in ſolitude and peace, without the leaſt pomp or grandeur, cultivating his garden, amuſing himſelf with mechanics, making clocks, and converſing with a ſmall number of private perſons. He taſted the ſweets of repoſe, meditated on the nothingneſs of the world, and ſought in religion more ſolid happineſs than that which he had abandoned. Thus did he paſs a year in the felicity of ſelf enjoyment, after having been for ſo long a time the ſport of a reſtleſs and inſatiable ambition.

Charles V retires into a monaſtery.

Some months before his death, the fits of the gout returning with double violence, he was ſeized with a deep melancholy; his reaſon began to fail, and he ſpent every moment in company with the monks, joining in their exerciſes, and performing their penances. He even took a fancy to have his own obſequies performed in his preſence. He was carried on a bier to the church, the office of the dead was ſung, and the funeral ceremonies performed. The next day he was ſeized with a fever, which carried him off in the forty ninth year of his age.

He dies in melancholy and devotion, at the age of forty nine.

Never prince had poſſeſſed ſo vaſt an empire; and his talents and uncommon activity anſwered to that extenſive dominion, as far as it is poſſible for human

His activity and talents.

weakneſs.

weakneſs. The ardour with which he purſued every object of his ambitious policy, is proved by his taking nine journies into Germany, ten into the Low Countries, ſeven into Italy, ſix into Spain, four into France, twice viſiting England, and making two expeditions into Africa. He knew mankind; and the ſucceſs which attended his enterpriſes was, in a great meaſure, owing to the judicious choice of thoſe whom he employed. What glory would he not have merited, if, inſtead of every where kindling diſſenſions and wars, he had dedicated his cares to the happineſs of his ſubjects! *The people of quality rob me* (ſaid he one day,) *the men of letters inſtruct me, the traders enrich me.* When he thus reflected on different objects, he ought to have ſeen, that a ſovereign makes himſelf happy, not by conqueſts or deſpotiſm, but by the wiſdom of his government, the equity of his laws, and every thing that makes ſtates flouriſh.

He ought to have followed another road.

It is ſaid, that in his retirement, not being able to make two clocks go exactly alike, he blamed himſelf as having been guilty of a peice of folly, in attempting to ſubject men to uniformity of belief. Yet his ſon was equally deſpotic and mercileſs towards thoſe whoſe belief differed from his own. Philip ſeemed to rival Paul in heightening the barbarity of the inquiſition. Conſtantine Ponza, chaplain and confeſſor of Charles V. was burnt in effigy as a heretic; and the memory of that emperour himſelf narrowly eſcaped being blackened. To complete the horrour, the king, hearing one day that thirty perſons at leaſt had a little before periſhed at an *auto da fé*, requeſted that a like execution might be performed in his preſence, and beheld with joy forty victims devoted to torments and death by falſe zeal. One of them, a man of diſtinction, requeſting a pardon—*No*, replied he coldly; *were it my own ſon, I would give him up to the flames, if he obſtinately perſiſted in hereſy.* We may judge beforehand what miſchiefs this atrocious ſuperſtition produced, and what a fer-

His ſentiments with regard to perſecution.

Violent zeal of Philip II. for the Catholic religion.

ment it raiſed in the minds both of fanatic religioniſts, and the favourers of liberty.

CHAP. XI.

Reign of Elizabeth in England; ſhe changes the Religion.—Peace of Cateau Cambreſis.—Death of Henry II. *and Paul* IV.

1558. Elizabeth ſucceeds Mary in England.

MARY, queen of England, whoſe cruelties had made her religion odious, and whoſe government was likewiſe diſgraced by the loſs of Calais, neglected by her huſband, and a prey to vexation, died without children in 1558. Her ſiſter Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, mounted the throne, according to the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. and confirmed by the parliament. This princeſs, who was always in danger of death under the laſt reign, was inſtructed in the ſchool of adverſity. Endowed with an uncommon ſhare of genius, knowledge, courage and policy, though not twenty ſix years of age, ſhe was able to ſupport with glory the weight of government in the moſt tempeſtuous times. Her firſt ſteps will make this evident.

Paul IV. treats her unworthily.

Notwithſtanding her ſecret averſion to the Romiſh religion, which ſhe was reſolved to aboliſh, ſhe kept a miniſter at Rome, and charged him to give the pope notice of her acceſſion. Here the haughty imprudence of Paul IV. ſhewed itſelf undiſguiſed. He treated Elizabeth as a baſtard; expreſſed his ſurpriſe that ſhe ſhould have the boldneſs to take poſſeſſion, without his conſent, of a kingdom feudatory to the Holy See; (we imagine ourſelves in the age of king John and Innocent III.) and only condeſcended to give her hopes of indulgence, if ſhe would make her ſubmiſſion, and aſk pardon. Clement VII. who had loſt England by his

his own fault, had not behaved ſo imprudently to Henry VIII.

In a ſhort time, ſhe took the advantage given her by this inſult, which had filled the kingdom with indignation; but precipitated nothing, becauſe the changes of religion in a ſtate require the greateſt prudence. She gained her people's hearts, and prepared their minds; and the parliament completed the work, by confirming to her the ſupremacy, and with the title of *Head of the church*, granting to her the ſpiritual authority which had been exerciſed by her father and brother. The maſs and Romiſh liturgy were aboliſhed without oppoſition; but ſo many of the ceremonies were retained, that the form of the worſhip made the great innovations paſs. Accordingly, almoſt all the pariſh prieſts and beneficiaries of the ſecond order ſubmitted to the change. Only one biſhop took the oath of ſupremacy; all the reſt were depoſed. What had the Catholic faith gained, then, by the violences of Mary and her huſband? Executions never regulated belief; they rather prevent converſion; and as they can only make men hypocrites, every thing changes, when the fear of them is removed.

She changes the religion with prudence.

Though England had the misfortune to go aſtray in the road of ſalvation, the reformation was advantageous to it in ſeveral points reſpecting civil and political order. Population increaſed after the abolition of religious celibacy. A great number of feſtivals were cancelled, which had been prepoſterouſly ſanctified by idleneſs, and ſuſpended the labours neceſſary for ſociety. The diſputes concerning juriſdiction between the prieſthood and the temporal power, no more diſturbed the internal harmony of the government. Induſtry ceaſed to be cramped and ſmothered by the immenſe poſſeſſions of the clergy and monks. The ruinous exactions of the court of Rome were prevented; and a great number of abuſes, which deſtroyed money, time and lives, fell into diſuſe of themſelves.

Political advantages of the reformation.

Rymer's

How detrimental the pilgrimages only to the ſhrine of St. James were to the kingdom.

Rymer's collection of ſtate papers proves how prejudicial the ſingle pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella was to England. In 1428, nine hundred and ſixteen perſons obtained permiſſion to go thither; two thouſand four hundred and ſixty in 1434; two thouſand one hundred in 1445. This particular will enable us to judge of the reſt.

Conduct of Philip II. to Elizabeth.

As ſoon as Elizabeth was on the throne, the kings of France and Spain rivalled each other in courting her friendſhip. The ſecond, in hope of poſſeſſing the throne of England, offered her his hand, and ſolicited a diſpenſation from Rome to complete the marriage. But the princeſs had too much good ſenſe to accept this offer, which was equally contrary to the wiſhes of the Engliſh and her own inclinations. However, ſhe diſſembled. Philip at firſt ſupported the intereſts of Elizabeth with warmth, in the negotiations which were continued at Cateau Cambreſis; but he cooled when he ſaw her ruin the Catholic religion, which was overturning the work of Philip himſelf, as well as Mary. The two powers treated ſeparately with Henry II. yet there was but a day's diſtance between the treaties.

Negotiation of Cateau Cambreſis.

1559. Treaty with Elizabeth, who gives up Calais.

That with England contains nothing remarkable, except the article of Calais. Elizabeth, not being able to recover this place, nor to yield it without ſtaining her honour, left it for eight years in the hands of the king of France, on condition of his reſtoring it, or paying five hundred thouſand crowns, at the end of that period; provided, notwithſtanding, that England broke the peace neither with France nor Scotland. Thus Elizabeth ſaved appearances, and that was a great deal. It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſhe hoped to recover the poſſeſſion of Calais. She was obliged to ſacrifice it, or retake it by force. Circumſtances rendered the ſacrifice neceſſary; and policy veiled it from the eyes of the people, in ſuch a manner that it raiſed no clamours. A prudent miniſter pays a deference to the opinion of the public, and ſometimes ſeems to lead it as he pleaſes.

We

We ſhall ſee the uneaſineſs given to the queen of England by the pretenſions of Mary Stuart, who was married to the dauphin.

By the treaty with Spain, Henry reſtored a vaſt number of places for St. Quintin, Ham, and Catelet; the duke of Savoy was re-eſtabliſhed in his dominions, except Turin, Pignerol, Chivas, and Villeneuve; the marquiſate of Montferrat was reſtored to the duke of Mantua, and the conquered towns in Corſica to the republic of Genoa. The pope, the emperour, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal; Scotland, &c. were comprehended in this treaty, as allies of one or other of the kings. France retained Metz, Toul, and Verdun; becauſe Philip was not ſanguine in ſupporting the intereſt of his uncle Ferdinand. The two branches of the houſe of Auſtria were for ſome time leſs friends than rivals. Philip did not forget Ferdinand's refuſal to give up the empire in his favour.

Treaty with Philip II.

The French nation loudly complained of a treaty ſo contrary to their hopes. They were filled with indignation at the ceſſion of no fewer than one hundred and forty nine fortified places, which had been taken in the Low Countries or in Italy. The conſtable Montmorenci, impatient to conclude the peace of which he was the author, had found an expedient to gain the conſent of the court, by a double marriage of Henry's ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, and of Philip with Henry's eldeſt daughter. The marriages of princes are ſeldom bands of ſincere union, but have frequently ſerved as a ſpecious varniſh to colour what they would otherwiſe have been aſhamed of doing.

France makes many ceſſions, which are coloured by two marriages.

At laſt feſtivals ſucceeded to battles. But they coſt the life of Henry II. who was mortally wounded at a tournament, after having broken ſeveral lances.

1559. Death of Henry II.

The ſeeds of the wars of Calviniſm were ſown by the ſanguinary zeal of this prince againſt the innovators, which he carried ſo far as to attempt a proſecution of the dutcheſs of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII. who granted

His exceſſive & pernicious zeal.

granted an aſylum in her court to the literati that were tinctured with heterodoxy. He ordered the judges to cauſe all to be arreſted as heretics, who ſhould ſolicit them in favour of the religioniſts that were condemned to inhuman torments. Some members of parliament were impriſoned for propoſing a mitigation of the ſentences. It was ſaid that zeal made acts of barbarity a duty; yet we ſhall find that the fruit which they produced was, dragging religion and the ſtate to the brink of ruin.

Death of Paul IV. who was deteſted at Rome.

Paul IV. one of thoſe violent pontiffs, who ſeemed born to ſet Europe in a flame, died the ſame year (1559,) and was followed to the grave with the curſes of the people. His ſtatue was broken in pieces, and thrown into the Tiber. The priſoners confined in the inquiſition were ſet at liberty; and the priſon which he had cauſed to be built was thrown down, as a monument of horrour; and the convent of the Dominicans, who preſided in that tribunal, narrowly eſcaped being burnt to aſhes. The Caraffas, whom Paul IV. had baniſhed from Rome, after ſacrificing every thing to raiſe their fortune, contributed to the election of Pius IV. (Medichino,) whoſe gratitude ſoon cooled; for he put them to death the year following. This new pope acknowledged Ferdinand as emperour; and made his pontificate famous by terminating the council of Trent, which had been interrupted ever ſince 1552.

Pius IV.

CHAP. XII.

End of the Council of Trent.—Its Diſcipline rejected in France.—Socinianiſm, Literature, &c.

Demand for a national council in France.

THE religious troubles with which France was already agitated, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, made the people deſire a national council, where probably there would

would have been many uſeleſs diſputes. Such aſſemblies alarmed the court of Rome ſtill more than a general council, whoſe operations it could direct or ſuſpend. Beſides, Catharine Medici, the queen mother, who held the reins under young Francis II. propoſed to the pope ſome conceſſions of the moſt delicate nature for the Holy See; viz. removing the images to which adoration was paid; retrenching ſome of the ceremonies uſed in baptiſm; granting the communion in both kinds; celebrating the ſacred office, and eſpecially maſs, in the vulgar tongue; aboliſhing the feſtival of Corpus Chriſti, and the proceſſions of the holy ſacrament; articles which ſeemed to give the Proteſtants the advantage over the Catholics. Dreading, therefore, leſt the court and clergy of France ſhould overleap all obſtacles, he made haſte to reaſſemble the council; and it was again opened, for the laſt time, in the month of January, 1562.

Propoſals made to the pope by Catharine Medici.

Pius IV. reaſſembles the council of Trent.

An attempt was made to draw the Proteſtants of Germany to the council; but they inſiſted upon its former deciſions being examined, and on having a joint voice in the determinations; which they likewiſe foreſaw would be unfavourable to their tenets. The emperour Ferdinand, far from reſtraining their liberty, did not accept the bull of convocation. Pius IV. ſoon diſcovered how he was affected towards the religioniſts, by propoſing a league, the purpoſe of which was, to cruſh them in every country. Force ſeemed to him more effectual than the canons and cenſures of the church; but this was the way to arm thoſe whom it was of importance to convince and convert.

Not being able to draw the Proteſtants to it, he propoſes a war againſt them.

Even among the Catholics, clouds were riſing of an appearance ominous to the council of Trent. The court of Rome had too palpable an influence over its determinations. *The Holy Spirit was ſent from Rome in the courier's portmanteau*, ſaid ſome perſons of diſtinction. This indecent raillery is particularly attributed to Lanſac, one of the French ambaſſadours. Another of them, the learned Pibrac, in a ſpeech before the aſſembly,

Complaints of the French againſt the council.

bly, ſaid, in plain terms, that the councils held under Paul III. and Julius III. had done no good, and declared that the preſent ought not to tread in their ſteps.

Influence of the legates and Italians.

It cannot be doubted, that the legates and Italian biſhops employed all their addreſs to carry every thing agreeably to the pleaſure of the pope. Lainez, general of the Jeſuits, attempted to prove by a long diſcourſe, that the pope was the ſole fountain of all ſpiritual authority, and that the whole hierarchy was contained in him alone. It was not only impoſſible to procure a deciſion, that the inſtitution of biſhops was of *divine right*; but one of the principal canons inſinuates, that they derive their powers from the pope. It is conceived in theſe terms:—*If any man ſaith, that the biſhops, who are elected by the authority of the pope, are not true and lawful biſhops, but that it is an invention of man, let him be anathematized.* The diſputes on this ſubject had been ſo warm, that they were on the point of producing a violent and incurable rupture.

Many intrigues & diſputes.

Fra Paolo, and even Pallavicini, in their hiſtories of the council, unravelled the complication of intrigues, conteſts, ſubterfuges, and vain ſubtilties, which mingled but too frequently with matters worthy of being treated with the utmoſt reverence. Without ſtopping to conſider the points of faith, which have been received by the church, and therefore muſt not now be examined, let us only remark ſome decrees reſpecting diſcipline, which breathe the ancient ſpirit of dominion and independence.

Decree propoſed for the reformation of princes.

The great object of this aſſembly ought to have been the reformation of the church, and the extirpation of the abuſes with which it was reproached by the innovators; but a decree was projected for the reformation of princes, comprehended in thirteen articles, tending to eſtabliſh the clerical immunities, ſuch as they had originated in the ages of ignorance, both reſpecting their perſons and poſſeſſions, not even excepting their paternal inheritances. Du Ferrier, one of the French ambaſſadours,

baſſadours, oppoſed this attempt with equal ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence. Some cenſured his diſcourſe as heretical, and the majority judged it at leaſt ſcandalous; upon which he withdrew, in compliance with the orders of the court, as had been already done by his colleagues. The decree was reduced only to an exhortation to princes to protect the liberty of the church, and maintain the eccleſiaſtical immunities and juriſdiction; but the execution of all the papal conſtitutions for that purpoſe was enjoined by an ordinance.

Oppoſition of the French, little regarded.

Thus a multitude of bulls, evidently repugnant to the civil rights, the authority of princes and magiſtrates, and the general good of ſociety, were eſtabliſhed into laws by the council; and what is more aſtoniſhing, France alone, or rather a part of the nation, has conſtantly perſiſted in rejecting ſuch a ſyſtem of diſcipline. In other countries, the governments have contented themſelves with general terms, in order to ſecure their rights.

All the conſtitutions on the eccleſiaſtical immunities confirmed.

By other decrees, the pope was conſtituted judge of the biſhops in criminal matters; and he was inveſted with the right of delegating to other judges, or calling before his own tribunal, thoſe cauſes, the deciſion of which belonged to the biſhops, to whom, *in quality of delegates of the Holy See*, were aſſigned functions naturally inſeparable from their miniſtry. On the other ſide, rights were attributed to them, which may be reclaimed by the civil power. They were made judges of books, adminiſtrators of the hoſpitals, executors of pious legacies, &c. Ordinances were enacted, impoſing, in certain caſes, fines, confiſcations, confinement of the body, and even capital puniſhment in the caſe of duels.

Other decrees contrary to the common or civil rights.

The doctrinal decree reſpecting marriage, not only eſtabliſhes the impediments of ſpiritual affinity, for which a diſpenſation is abſolutely neceſſary, but gives a ſanction to the marriage of children of family while under age, without the conſent of their parents, and pronounces an anathema againſt all who ſhall maintain the contrary.

On marriages.

On the monaſtic vows.

contrary. (The contrary has been maintained in France for very good reaſons.) Laſtly, perſons of both ſexes were authorized to take the monaſtic vows at the age of ſixteen. (The ordinance of Orleans, in 1560, had prohibited them from being taken by men before the age of twenty five, and by girls under twenty. It is remarkable, that though the diſcipline of the council has not been admitted in other points, it has in this, notwithſtanding the viſible inconveniences which it produces.)

Diſputes about precedency.

We ſhould loſe time in recounting the keen diſputes between the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadours on the ſubject of precedence, in an aſſembly deſigned for ſettling the Chriſtian faith, and the eſtabliſhment of tranquillity among the nations. It is ſufficient to know that the pope, though at firſt favourable to the Spaniards, at laſt gave it to the French.

Eſtabliſhment of the ſeminaries, uſeful, but imperfect.

Of all that was done at Trent with a view to reform the church, the eſtabliſhment of ſeminaries ſeems to have produced the greateſt effect, becauſe it has had the ſtrongeſt influence on principles and morals. The conduct of men is ordinarily decided by their education; and the prieſthood requiring a great ſhare of learning, as well as uncommon virtues, youth cannot be too ſoon formed for filling its offices in a becoming manner; but, in the midſt of prejudices, ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, it is to be feared, that bigotry was inſtilled together with piety, enthuſiaſm with zeal, falſe principles with diſcipline, the ſpirit of chicanery and diſputation with the common theology, and leſs of ſolid morality than external obſervances. In fact, many abuſes long prevailed in the education given in the ſeminaries, though they were mixed with real advantages; and if we examine things accurately we ſhall find this to be one of the principal reaſons why the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry is ſtill expoſed to ſo many reproaches. Pius IV. founded the Roman ſeminary, which he put under the care of the Jeſuits, and their ſyſtem has ſerved as a model to the reſt.

This

This celebrated aſſembly, which is reckoned the twentieth general council, did not end till 1563. Some cardinals were of opinion, that it ought not to be haſtily confirmed; becauſe, ſaid they, the obſervation of many of the canons being impracticable, ſcandals or diſpenſations would be endleſsly multiplied. What appearance, for inſtance, was there, that the plurality of benefices would be aboliſhed by the bare authority of a decree? Yet Pius immediately publiſhed the bull of confirmation, prohibiting any paraphraſe, commentary, or interpretation of the doctrine eſtabliſhed by the council, and reſerving to the Holy See the right of clearing up or determining whatever ſhould be thought obſcure or ambiguous. Never would the papal power have been at a higher pitch, if the bull had been attended with its full effect.

Pius IV. confirms the council with too great precipitation.

Portugal, Venice, and the duke of Savoy, received the whole without difficulty. The king of Spain ſhewed the ſame ſubmiſſion in public, but gave private orders for the maintenance of the royal authority. In France, it was refuſed to publiſh the acts of the council; and the cardinal de Lorraine, who had juſt before played the principal part there, in vain oppoſed his credit to the reaſons of the chancellor de l'Hoſpital and the parliament. We ſhall ſee the leaguers always inſiſt upon this object.

How it was received in the ſeveral ſtates.

The emperour Ferdinand I. laboured for a reunion of the two churches by conciliatory methods, which were preferable to anathemas and acts of violence. He prevailed on the pope to grant his ſubjects the communion in both kinds; and death having carried him off too ſoon, his ſon and ſucceſſor, Maximilian II. demanded another more important point, the marriage of prieſts. The motives which he ordered his ambaſſadours to enforce will be found in hiſtorians; but the court of Rome had ſtrong reaſons to oppoſe it, and Pius was inflexible on that head.

Maximilian. He demands permiſſion for prieſts to marry.

All

The council and the *Index* only ſerve to ſhock the Proteſtants.

All hopes of bringing back the Proteſtants were now at an end. They deſpiſed a council, from which miracles had been expected; and their indignation was increaſed by the *Index* of prohibited books, which the pope publiſhed a ſhort time after. Even the ſenſible part of the Catholics could not but be grieved, when that *Index* caſt a ſtain upon authors and performances worthy of the higheſt commendation.

Origin of Socinianiſm, which rejects the myſteries.

As the Proteſtants differed from each other, as well as from the Catholics, in the ſenſe they gave to the ſcriptures, which they ſubmitted to the examination of reaſon; as myſteries only became more embroiled by diſputes; and the human mind, floundering in profound darkneſs, falls from precipice to precipice; there neceſſarily ſprung up, ſooner or later, ſome new and dangerous ſyſtem, where the faith would be reduced almoſt to philoſophical principles. Lelius Socinus, a native of Sienna, who had been driven from his country, and doubtleſs exaſperated againſt religion by the inquiſition, ſcattered the firſt ſeeds of it, and they were brought to maturity by his nephew Fauſtus. This man, dreading the perſecution of Calvin at Geneva, went to preach his new doctrine in Poland, where, and in Tranſylvania, he founded the ſect of the Socinians. It admits no myſtery, and honours Jeſus Chriſt as a ſage, deſigned by Heaven to lead mankind in the path of duty and virtue. Catholics and Proteſtants looked with equal horrour upon a doctrine which ſapped the foundations of the Chriſtian faith. Being proſcribed in Poland, it has covertly ſpread among the ſectaries in England and Holland, making little noiſe, becauſe it is not calculated to kindle fanaticiſm and raiſe diſturbances. Fauſtus Socinus died in 1604.

Lelius & Fauſtus Socinus.

Men of letters in this period.

Could learning conſole mankind for the misfortunes cauſed by religious quarrels, the beginning of the ſixteenth century would certainly furniſh agreeable objects to fix our attention. Italy had her Arioſto, Machiavel, Guicciardini, Bembo, Sadolet, Annibal Caro, Paul Jovius,

vius, Sannazarius, &c. France had Budæus, the Du Bellais, Ramus, Du Moulin, and other learned men. Erasmus reflected lustre upon Holland, and deservedly gained universal admiration. In the North, Copernicus discovered the true system of the world, which Galileo afterwards placed in the clearest light, and which was condemned by the inquisition. Sleidam in Germany was an estimable historian. At the same time, Raphael and Michael Angelo produced their master pieces. But the madness of superstition, which was now preparing to open more bloody scenes, scarce permitted the best geniuses to appreciate the advantages of literature, the sciences, and the arts, which polish mankind. Besides, *Machiavel's Prince*, notwithstanding the merit of that writer's other works, spread a detestable policy proper to engender new crimes.

Raphael and Michael Angelo.

The persecution which Ramus suffered in France, is sufficient to shew the prevalence of absurdity and barbarity, even in the schools, which seem to be the fountains whence reason ought to issue, and diffuse the true principles of humanity. Ramus, who was a philosopher, mathematician, and able linguist, first incurred the censure of the doctors, because he did not conform to their faulty pronunciation of the letter Q. He taught his scholars to pronounce *quanquam* not *kankam*, and this was made a crime. His attacking Peripateticism was another of more heinous nature: he was therefore accused of heresy. One of his rivals villainously caused him to be murdered on the night of St. Bartholomew, of which we shall soon speak; and his body was insulted by the scholars. How many similar examples demonstrate the tyranny of prejudices, which a blind attachment to a particular body uses its utmost endeavours to render sacred and eternal!

Ramus persecuted by the doctors.

It was a great and lasting misfortune to religion, that enlightened and virtuous men, submissive to the faith, and indocile only to vulgar errours, filled with a noble zeal for truth and the public good, were attacked

Imprudence of passionate zealots.

as

as its enemies. What extravagance was it to adorn the liſt of heretics and infidels with their names! the libels and accuſations againſt Eraſmus, for inſtance, perhaps did leſs injury to him than to the Catholic religion.

ELEVENTH

ELEVENTH EPOCHA.

RELIGIOUS WARS *in* FRANCE.—INSURRECTION *of the* UNITED PROVINCES *againſt* PHILIP II.—ENGLAND *flouriſhing under* ELIZABETH.

[From the year 1559 to the reign of Henry IV.]

CHAP. I.

Reign of Francis II.—*Beginnings of the Diſturbances on Account of Religion in France.*

Painful and dangerous duty of an hiſtorian.

"WE muſt now bid adieu to the noble principles "and the great actions of our fathers," ſays the illuſtrious hiſtorian De Thou; "my preſent taſk is, "to paint the diſaſters of the ſtate, that is to ſay, our "errours and our vices, which, theſe forty years, have "deſolated this once flouriſhing kingdom. It is with "reluctance, and only in obedience to the laws of hiſ-"torical truth, that we ſhall lay open the ambition, the "avarice, the treachery, and the pernicious counſels, of "ſome perſons; for hiſtorians are the friends of truth, "and therefore obliged to ſpeak the truth, provided it "be done with candour, without paſſion or bitterneſs; "and there is ſuch a diſtance between that time and "the period in which I write, that I ought neither to "be ſuſpected of partiality nor hatred." *(l. 22. ſub fin.)* I quote the words of that great man with pleaſure, becauſe, even in this age, hiſtorical truth is cenſured by ſome people, who are always ready to condemn what they are not acquainted with, or by a falſe policy prompted to conceal.

Factions in the court of France.

From the death of Henry II. the court of France was filled with turbulent factions. Catharine Medici, mother of a king whoſe weakneſs both of body and mind rendered him incapable of every thing, joined to an exceſſive love of dominion a ſoul capable of the greateſt verſatility, diſſimulation, treachery, and the blackeſt crimes. She made no ſcruple of committing any wickedneſs, provided it ſerved her purpoſe, and may be ſaid to have breathed the very ſpirit of Machiaveliſm. The whole authority was in the hands of the Guiſes, uncles of the young queen Mary Stuart; and the ambition which preyed upon them made even their merit a ſource of misfortune to their country. Two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and his brother Louis, prince of Condé, were filled with indignation at their want of credit, and but too much inclined to throw the ſtate into confuſion, for the ſake of their private intereſt. To conclude the liſt, the conſtable Montmorenci and his powerful family had likewiſe pretenſions and views incompatible with the tranquillity of the kingdom. Unhappily all of them uſed religion as the moſt proper inſtrument of faction. By it they kindled the civil wars, where ambition and fanaticiſm vied with one another, if I may uſe the expreſſion, in exerting their fierceſt rage upon the people, the kingdom, and even the kings.

Catharine Medici.

The Guiſes.

The Bourbons.

Montmorenci.

Under Francis I. the new doctrine had ſpread greatly at court, as well as in the capital and the provinces. The taſte for novelty would have been ſufficient to gain it proſelytes, though even the ſpecious reaſons of the Proteſtants, and, above all, the abuſes which they attacked, had been leſs capable of unfixing men's minds. Calvin's *Chriſtian Inſtitutions*, containing the ground work of his errours, were dedicated to the king; which proves, that, though he ſought an aſylum out of the kingdom, he had a number of adherents round the throne. The ſeverity of the edicts was certainly leſs owing to the zeal of Francis, than to the influence of conjunctures.

Progreſs of Proteſtantiſm under the reign of Francis I.

conjunctures. His ſiſter, the queen of Navarre, protected the religioniſts, while they were perſecuted by the clergy and the parliament.

The maſſacre of Cabrieres and Merindol, and the executions which were imprudently multiplied by Henry II. irritated, inſtead of humbling, the ſpirit of the ſect; as is always to be expected, when enthuſiaſm is in fermentation. Some aſpired to martyrdom; which it was made no queſtion that all were entitled to, who died for their doctrine; others, and theſe were the moſt numerous claſs, mingled with their zeal an ardour for liberty, and a thirſt of revenge. They knew that the admiral de Coligni, and his brothers d'Andelot and cardinal Chatillon, the conſtable's nephews, were firm friends to a reformation; and that the prince of Condé inclined to the ſame ſide. Such powerful protectors kept up the bold ſpirit inſpired by religious perſuaſion.

The evil was increaſed under Henry II.

On the other ſide, the Guiſes, who governed the kingdom under Francis II. ſhewing themſelves zealous Catholics, the animoſity of the Proteſtants was increaſed by new examples of rigour. Anne du Bourg, counſellor clerk to the parliament, a man ſtill more eſtimable for his morals and integrity than for his noble birth, was hanged as a heretic. He ſaid to the people, at his execution, that he died for *the goſpel of God.* It is impoſſible to deſcribe the rage with which the populace was inflamed by that magiſtrate's death; from whoſe aſhes, ſays De Thou, ſprung up a poiſonous crop of plots and rebellions.

1559. Execution of Anne du Bourg under Francis II.

Beſides, the government inceſſantly haraſſed the Calviniſts, for whom ſnares were laid, that a handle might be taken to puniſh them. Far from correcting the ſuperſtitions that had crept into the worſhip, new obſervances ſtill more ſuperſtitious were invented. At the corners of the ſtreets were placed images of our Lady and the ſaints, with candles or tapers lighted up before them; round which the populace aſſembled, ſinging hymns, and forcing paſſengers to put money into little

The Calviniſts haraſſed and provoked.

begging boxes for the illumination. If a man did not bow to theſe images, and ſtop with marks of reverence while the fanatic people were paying this worſhip, he was either knocked down, dragged to priſon, or at leaſt loaded with inſults. Neglecting to repreſs ſuch diſorders, was authorizing them; and the Proteſtants, tranſported with rage, only waited for a leader, to make the moſt daring attempts.

1560. Conſpiracy of Amboiſe.

Soon after was formed the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe, of which the prince of Condé was the inviſible mover, and which La Renaudie, a Proteſtant gentleman, conducted with equal addreſs and activity. The principal object was, to take the government out of the hands of the Guiſes, who were hated on the double ſcore of being foreigners and perſecutors. It was projected to carry them off from Amboiſe, where the court then reſided, to ſet Condé at the head of affairs, and ſecure liberty of conſcience by an edict. The day was fixed for the execution of this deſign, and the meaſures ſo well concerted, that its ſucceſs appeared infallible. But, while thouſands of conſpirators inviolably kept the ſecret, it was betrayed by an advocate, who, though a Calviniſt, yet had ſufficient regard for his country, to look with horrour upon a rebellion. The duke of Guiſe, who was named lieutenant general of the kingdom, on this emergency, behaved with his uſual prudence and courage. The Huguenots (a nick name ordinarily given to the Calviniſts) coming up to the place of rendezvous from all the provinces, were ſurpriſed, maſſacred, or died by the hand of the executioner.

Aſſembly where Coligni preſents a petition from the ſectaries.

Misfortune could only more inflame a party ſo numerous and ardent. They muſt either be appeaſed, or new enterpriſes expected. A general aſſembly was therefore held at Fontainbleau, to deliberate on the exigences of the ſtate, where the admiral Coligni preſented to the king a petition from the Calviniſts, demanding the public exerciſe of their religion, that their particular meetings might no longer be imputed to them

them as a crime; and declared that fifty thouſand men were ready to ſign it.

Speeches of two moderate biſhops.

Montluc, biſhop of Valence, and Marillac, archbiſhop of Vienne, ſpoke with energy againſt the abuſes which occaſioned ſo many troubles and diſorders; expoſed the vices of the Romiſh court; the ignorance and corruption of the national clergy; the avarice of the Italians, who, without reſiding in the kingdom, had one third of the benefices in their hands; the injuſtice of the perſecution, which confounded the innocent with the guilty; and, in one word, deſcribed the offences to religion, and the prevalence of prejudices, as the ſource of the public calamities. They condemned the ſeditious religioniſts, whom it was of importance to curb and puniſh; but obſerved, that it was wrong to treat as criminals a number of peaceable men, who adhered to their errours from a principle of ſincerity; that putting them to death had been a means of bringing their opinions into vogue; that it excited in the ſpectators a curioſity to know, and often a deſire to embrace, a doctrine which they ſaw maintained in the midſt of the flames by men of eſtimable characters and irreproachable morals. They inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a reformation; and concluded with propoſing a national ſynod, if the pope refuſed to convoke a general council, with a prohibition of exerting the ſeverity of the law, except againſt real crimes. Such was the ſubſtance of the two diſcourſes.

Complaints & demands of Coligni.

Coligni afterwards ſpoke in plain terms; complained of the guard that was placed about the king; ſaid, that the principal ſecurity of a monarch was, gaining the affection of his ſubjects; that nothing was more fatal to him than to dread his people, and be dreaded by them; concluding, that the guard ought to be diſcharged, the ſtates general aſſembled, and methods contrived for extirpating errours from the church. The Lorrain princes acted conſiſtently with their character. The duke of Guiſe proteſted that it was not in the

Oppoſition of the Guiſes.

power

power of any council to make him change his religion; and the cardinal warmly oppoſed the requeſt of Coligni, which he affirmed to be ſeditious. However, the ſtates were convoked, the perſecution ſuſpended, and the ſectaries had time to breathe under a ſhadow of toleration. But, notwithſtanding this, inſurrections were made in ſome provinces; ſo deeply were they already infected with the poiſon of reſentment or fanaticiſm.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde ſummoned before the ſtates of Orleans.

After the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, the prince of Condé had been put under arreſt; though there were no proofs ſufficient to convict him. Having made a ſpirited juſtification of himſelf in full council, where he obliged the duke of Guiſe to diſſemble, and ſpeak in his defence, he was no ſooner ſet at liberty than he openly profeſſed the Proteſtant religion. Being accuſed of a new conſpiracy, and a reſolution taken to deſtroy him, as well as to ſecure the perſon of his brother, the king of Navarre, who, notwithſtanding his ſlowneſs and irreſolution, gave the greateſt uneaſineſs to the princes of Lorrain, they were both ſummoned to Orleans, the place deſtined for the meeting of the ſtates; to which they repaired with too great confidence, and met with that perfidy which their friends had clearly foreſeen.

Trial of Condé.

Condé was arreſted, tried by commiſſioners, and condemned to death, notwithſtanding his refuſal to anſwer, and his claim to the rights of the peerage. De Thou thinks that the arrêt was not ſigned. During the trial, the king of Navarre was kept priſoner at large.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Beginning of the Reign of Charles IX.—*First Civil War on account of Religion.*

IN the midſt of theſe tranſactions, died Francis II. after a reign of ſeventeen months; and was ſucceeded by his brother Charles IX. not yet ten years of age. Then the ſcene changed at court; and the troubles, under the appearance of attempts to appeaſe them, were neceſſarily augmented by the variable conduct of the dangerous Catharine Medici; all whoſe views were centred in dominion; whoſe crafty ſoul could ſhift with every change of circumſtances; whoſe favourite maxim was, *divide and govern*; and who, conſequently, muſt alternately favour and oppoſe each of the contrary parties; looking upon religion merely as a political machine, and regarding the ſtate only as an inſtrument for promoting her private intereſt. In order to balance the overgrown power of the Guiſes, the prince of Condé was ſet at liberty, the king of Navarre named lieutenant general of the kingdom, and the conſtable Montmorenci, who had been in diſgrace ever ſince the commencement of the laſt reign, recalled with honour. Thus the keeneſt enmity was ſucceeded by appearances of concord; but hatred ſtill continued rooted in the heart.

Francis II. ſucceeded by Charles IX.

Politics of the queen mother.

Changes at court.

The man moſt capable of curing the public evils, if laws had ſufficient ſtrength to withſtand the rage of factions, was the chancellor Michael de l'Hoſpital, a man of virtue, ſuperiour to the prejudices and reigning vices of the times; a magiſtrate who would have been worthy of the Roman ſenate during the moſt glorious ages of the republic. By the edict of Romorantin, he had transferred the right of judging, in caſes of hereſy, from

The chancellor de l'Hoſpital.

Edict of Romorantin.

from the parliament to the biſhops, though that crime was capital. But there was no other way left to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, which the cardinal de Lorrain was deſirous of adding to the ſcourges under which France already groaned. At leaſt, ſome moderate men were found among the prelates; and were even the moſt ſevere ſo much to be dreaded as mercileſs inquiſitors? At that time no choice was left but the leaſt of two evils.

Speech of the chancellor to the ſtates.

At the ſtates of Orleans, the chancellor ſupported his reputation by an eloquent ſpeech, which he opened with explaining the purpoſe of ſuch aſſemblies, and the utility they might be of, by inſtructing the ſovereigns in their duties.—*Duties at preſent neglected*, ſaid he, *becauſe kings neither ſee nor hear but by the eyes and ears of others; becauſe they live, govern, and determine the moſt important affairs, only according to the opinion or caprice of their miniſters; becauſe, ſurrounded with ſnares, which are laid for them on every ſide, princes, though deſtined to guide others, are themſelves guided by the perſons about them.* He afterwards gave a picture of the abuſes introduced into all the orders, blamed the exceſſes in religious matters, and added, that thoſe odious names of Lutherans, Huguenots, and Papiſts, ought to be obliterated, as favouring of the old Guelf and Gibeline factions, and the glorious name of Chriſtian only retained; at the ſame time exhorting the members of the aſſembly to lay aſide all ſelfiſh views, all private affections, and freely offer what they thought expedient for the kingdom.

No harmony in the ſtates. Ordinances then made.

But the want of harmony in the ſtates, the rivalſhip among the three orders, the force of prejudice, and party intereſt, raiſed invincible obſtacles againſt the chancellor's zeal. One party inveighed againſt the ignorance and diſorderly lives of the clergy, and even demanded, that great part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues ſhould be appropriated to the diſcharge of the public debts. On the other ſide, the orator of the clergy went ſo far as to require, that whoever had preſented, or

ſhould

ſhould hereafter preſent, a petition in favour of the Proteſtants, ſhould be puniſhed as a heretic; but he was obliged to make Coligni reparation for that inſult. All acts of violence, on account of religion, were made capital; and a ſtatute was enacted, reſtoring the liberties and properties of thoſe who had been deprived of them for the ſame cauſe. But ſtatutes were too weak to keep their ground againſt ſo many paſſions that were then let looſe. The only laſting change made by the ſtates of Orleans was, confining the adminiſtration of juſtice to men of the long robe: the bailiffs and ſeneſchals, who were gentlemen of the ſword, were replaced by their lieutenants.

1561. Dangerous conference at Poiſſy.

As neither the Catholics nor Proteſtants would make the leaſt conceſſion, Catharine Medici, who was then miſtreſs of the government, propoſed public conferences; a dangerous method, only calculated to expoſe the true doctrine to the hazard of an attack, without ever putting an end to the diſputes. Yet, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the court of Rome, the cardinal de Lorraine cauſed that expedient to be adopted, in order to have an opportunity for gratifying his vanity, by a diſplay of his eloquence and learning. He diſputed, therefore, in the famous conference of Poiſſy, with Theodore Beza, a diſciple of Calvin; but each claimed the honour of the victory: both obſtinately perſiſted in their opinions, and the conference only ſerved to exaſperate their hatred. Lainez, general of the Jeſuits, in that conference gave to the Calviniſts the epithets of apes, foxes, and monſters, and loudly cenſured the queen for intermeddling in eccleſiaſtical affairs. Notwithſtanding which, by the credit of the cardinals de Lorraine and Tournon, he obtained the firſt eſtabliſhment of his ſociety in form of a college. However, it was at firſt only tolerated in Paris, though it had been ordered to be admitted by Henry II.

Audacious behaviour of Lainez.

The Jeſuits oppoſed by the biſhop of

Euſtace du Bellai, biſhop of the firſt city in the kingdom, being conſulted on the admittance of the Jeſuits, declared,

Paris, and the univerſity.

declared, that the greateſt dangers were threatened from that ſociety, as well as from all the new orders; that it ſeemed to be inſtituted, rather to raiſe troubles than to reſtore peace in the church. A celebrated proceſs was raiſed againſt them by the univerſity of Paris, where Stephen Paſquier, pleading in oppoſition to them, addreſſed the judges in the following terms:—*You will one day, though too late, reproach yourſelves with having been too credulous, when you ſee order and public tranquillity overturned, not only in this kingdom, but in the whole Chriſtian world, by the tricks, the frauds, the ſuperſtition, the diſſimulation, the cheats, the impoſtures, and deteſtable artifices of the new ſociety.* It is remarkable, that all the reaſons alledged at that time againſt the eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, were uſed in our days for aboliſhing the order, and their anſwers have likewiſe been ſtill the ſame.

The king of Navarre joins the triumvirate.

The king of Navarre had ſupported the Proteſtants, without openly declaring in favour of their ſect; but the court of Rome, and the king of Spain, attempted to draw him over to the contrary party, by an offer to reſtore Navarre, or give him Sardinia in exchange; and duped by theſe vain promiſes, he threw himſelf into the faction, which he had always filled with diſquiet, joining the triumvirate, compoſed of the duke of Guiſe, the old conſtable, and the mareſchal de St. André, all zealous Catholics, at leaſt in appearance. Whatever may be alledged by F. Daniel, it is certain, that the conference of Poiſſy contributed little to that prince's change: he wanted ſomething different from arguments.

Aſſembly of magiſtrates for the reſtoration of order and peace.

In order to counterbalance ſo ſtrong a faction, the queen ſhewed more favour to the Calviniſts. The edict of *July* had forbidden illegal aſſemblies, but they did not obſerve it; and frequently, even the privileges allowed them, were imputed to them as crimes. Quarrels, reproaches, acts of violence, being continued without interruption, the principal members of the parliament

ment were assembled, in order to be consulted on the means of restoring good order. The discourse made them by the chancellor is preserved in De Thou, and deserves perusal. He refuted those who desired that a positive declaration should be made in favour of one of the two parties.—"It amounts to saying (observed he) "that the king ought to arm one party to attack the "other. Would not this be opposing the limbs against "each other, to destroy the whole body? Would it "not be a thing unworthy, not only of Christianity, "but of humanity? . . . . The matter in question is "to regulate the state, not to establish the faith. Ma-"ny people may have a sincere regard for their country, "who are not at all Christians; and by separating from "the church, they do not cease being good subjects to "the king. We can live in peace with those who ob-"serve ceremonies and usages different from ours," &c.

Speech of the chancellor in favour of toleration.

After the deliberations, appeared the edict of *January*, by which the Protestants were allowed the exercise of their religion, except in cities, and with equitable modifications. But three letters of jussion were required to cause it to be registered, even with this additional clause—*Till the decision of a general council on the controverted points*. The prejudices of the magistracy were not the least obstacles to the beneficent views of the chancellor.

1562. A moderate edict registered by force.

Tranquillity would have been at least restored, if religious feuds paid any regard to laws in the heat of fanaticism; but an unforeseen event suddenly revived them, and dissipated all hopes of peace. The duke of Guise travelling through Vassey in Champagne, part of his train insulted the Calvinists, who were attending a sermon in a barn, and a fray beginning, he ran to appease the tumult; but being struck with a stone, his attendants, in a fit of rage, killed threescore persons. This massacre, which was greatly exaggerated by public report, at last determined the sectaries to take arms; and the prince of Condé put himself at their head, under

The massacre of of Vassey arms the Calvinists.

der pretence that Catharine Medici called him to the aſſiſtance of the king, of whoſe perſon the king of Navarre and the triumvirate had made themſelves maſters. Such was the beginning of the civil wars, of which we ſhall only give the principal events.

First civil war carried on with atrocious cruelty.

Condé ſeized Orleans, which he made his place of arms, and got poſſeſſion of Rouen, with a number of towns. He gave up Havre to Elizabeth, queen of England, in order to obtain her aſſiſtance. Let us not be ſurpriſed, that a civil war, where the ſpirit of rebellion was varniſhed with the colours of religion, ſtifled every ſentiment of regard for the public weal. If I may be allowed the expreſſion, there were now no more Frenchmen, they had no more a country; but the whole kingdom was filled with fanatics, tranſported with inveterate rage againſt each other, or ſeditious men, who ſacrifice the intereſt of France and of religion to their own fortune. The parliament publiſhed a proſcription againſt the religioniſts, commanding the Catholics to purſue and kill them without fear of being brought to juſtice. The age of Marius and Sylla ſeemed to be returned; ſurpriſals and maſſacres were renewed every moment, and almoſt every town in the kingdom was a theatre of blood and horrours. Thus was France mangled during a long period of miſtaken conduct.

Siege of Rouen.

Nothing deſerves more attention than the tragical fate of the authors of thoſe dreadful calamities. The king of Navarre retook Rouen, but died in that city of a wound which he had received during the ſiege. The mareſchal de St. André was ſlain at the battle of Dreux, which was gained by the duke of Guiſe, who commanded under the conſtable. A remarkable circumſtance in this battle is, that both generals, the prince of Condé and Montmorenci, were taken priſoners. The prince ſlept in the ſame bed with the duke, by whom he had been defeated.

Battle of Dreux.

1563. Francis, duke of

The latter marched to make himſelf maſter of Orleans, and had already taken one of the ſuburbs by aſſault,

assault, when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a gentleman of the Calvinistic persuasion, who thought he served God by avenging his sect. Thus died Francis de Guise, *the greatest man of his age, even by the confession of his enemies.* (The testimony of De Thou may be credited.) The ambition of the cardinal de Lorrain, rather than his own inclination, had made him the head of a party; and conjunctures had hurried him from one excess to another, without obscuring the lustre of his magnanimity and heroic qualities. Great men are most to be dreaded when they swerve from their duty.

Guise, assassinated by Poltrot.

The violence of the storms was a little abated by an edict of pacification, which contained an amnesty for what was past; declared that the prince of Condé and his adherents had nothing in view but the service of the king; confirmed liberty of conscience; and ordered, that in every bailiwic a town should be assigned, where the Protestants should have the public exercise of their religion. But these privileges were soon restrained. The queen amused Condé with the hopes of the same honours and power that had been enjoyed by the king of Navarre. This was the real method, if the promise made to him had been executed, to draw him off from a party which was always dangerous.

Pacification favourable to the Calvinists.

The rage of party and fanaticism being suspended, the French seemed to be animated by a patriotic zeal to retake Havre from the English. Elizabeth having refused to give it up till Calais was restored, war was immediately declared; Havre was taken, Calais was not restored, and the hostilities ended in accommodation. Events had happened in England and Scotland, which, to avoid confusion, I shall collect into one view.

Havre retaken from the English.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Mary Stuart, till her Impriſonment.—Revolt of the Flemings.—Sequel of the Civil Wars in France.

Progreſs of Calviniſm in Scotland.

THE Scots, at that time one of the moſt ignorant and unpoliſhed nations in Europe, were on that account extremely ſuſceptible of fanaticiſm. The new doctrine had inſinuated itſelf among them in the reign of James V. Mary de Guiſe, that prince's widow, facilitated its progreſs by her moderation, and her forbearance of the reformed, by which means ſhe opened for herſelf a way to the regency; but the ambition of her brothers, who had too much power in France, made her take meaſures contrary to her inclination. They had formed a project for placing the young queen Mary Stuart on the throne of Elizabeth; for effecting which, the ruin of the Proteſtants in Scotland appeared neceſſary; the toleration therefore ceaſed, and they were irritated by perſecution. Some powerful and untractable noblemen were then at their head; and religious zeal was inflamed, and principally ſtrengthened, by a ſpirit of liberty or independence. In 1557 the ſectaries formed a league againſt the *Congregation of Satan*; thus did they deſign the Romiſh church, while they ſtyled their own league the *Congregation of Jeſus*; and engaged to defend one another for the maintenance and propagation of the word of God againſt the *perverſe, who wanted to diſturb their holy league*; *renouncing all deviliſh abominations and idolatries.*

Rebellious congregation.

John Knox, a diſciple of Calvin.

John Knox, a Scotchman, and violent diſciple of Calvin, had come from Geneva to fan this fierce flame. In a popular tumult, the images were broken, the churches plundered, the prieſts aſſaulted at the altar, and the monaſteries demoliſhed. Dr. Robertſon, an excellent

excellent hiſtorian, puts it out of all doubt that the inſurrections originated from the violent meaſures purſued by the government, at the inſtigation of the princes of Lorrain, and that the leaders of the party had principally in view to ſecure themſelves from the yoke of France.

The Scots ſupported by Elizabeth.

Their queen Mary Stuart, who was married to the dauphin (Francis II.) by the advice of the Guiſes, her uncles, had aſſumed the arms and title of queen of England. She did not acknowledge the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth; and this denial gave her a claim upon that crown, of which ſhe was preſumptive heireſs. Elizabeth muſt therefore look upon her as an enemy, and was intereſted in fomenting the troubles of Scotland. Accordingly, ſhe ſent aſſiſtance to the fanatical congregation. The Engliſh laid ſiege to Leith, which was defended by a French garriſon; and the miniſtry of France was obliged to ſign the humiliating treaty of Edinburg in 1560, by which Mary Stuart and her huſband agreed to renounce the title of king and queen of England, and obliged themſelves neither to make peace nor war without the conſent of the parliament, which was likewiſe authorized to take cognizance of the affairs of religion.

Treaty of Edinburg.

Change of religion.

The parliament aboliſhed the Romiſh worſhip, under very rigorous penalties; for the ſpirit of intolerance was common to both parties. Epiſcopacy was ſuppreſſed, as in the republics of Geneva and Switzerland; and Knox cauſed the *Preſbyterian* church government to be eſtabliſhed, in which the maxims and uſages of the primitive Chriſtians were thought to be revived. This is another effect of the perſecuting zeal of the Guiſes.

Mary Stuart attacked by fanaticiſm

After the death of Francis II. Mary Stuart, having loſt her influence, and being expoſed to the peeviſh humours of the queen mother, quitted France with reluctance, in order to return to a kingdom where barbariſm was univerſally prevalent. Notwithſtanding her wit, her charms, her ſweetneſs of temper, and her care

to

to avoid giving offence, ſhe was in a ſhort time expoſed to the hatred and outrages of fanaticiſm, becauſe ſhe was a Catholic. Knox, who always aſſumed the tone of a prophet, publicly gave her the name of Jezebel; quoted to her the examples of Phineas, Samuel, and Elijah, as proofs that holy zeal may prompt to juſt acts of violence; and gave her to underſtand, that the throne might be overturned at the pleaſure of ſuperſtition. Some time after, Mary, committing great faults, which belied her former prudent conduct, in a manner gave herſelf up a victim to the ferocious hatred of her enemies. She had married her couſin Henry lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox, and a native of England. Elizabeth, who always looked upon her with an eye of jealouſy, though ſhe concealed it under the maſk of a feigned reconciliation, could not ſincerely diſapprove this match, which ſpared her the uneaſineſs of ſeeing her rival married to a ſovereign; and affected to oppoſe it, but in vain. Darnley, graced with the title of king, without the concurrence of parliament, made but an ill return to Mary's favours and love. Inconſtant, debauched, and haughty, he loſt her eſteem, cooled her affection, and revenged himſelf for her ſlights in the moſt atrocious manner.

She marries Henry lord Darnly, and repents of it.

Murder of Rizio.

Rizio, a muſician of Piedmont, who had riſen to the poſt of the queen's ſecretary, was ſuſpected of an amour with his miſtreſs, though he was of a very diſagreeable figure. Beſides, he but too well deſerved the hatred entertained againſt him, by the inſolence with which he abuſed his favour. One day, while at table with that unfortunate princeſs, he was aſſaſſinated in her preſence by ſome noblemen, in 1566; and their crime, in which the king had a ſhare, was aggravated, as an advanced pregnancy expoſed Mary's life to greater hazard. However, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a ſon, named James, who afterwards united the crowns of Scotland and England.

She

She was afterwards attached by a fatal paſſion to earl Bothwel, a man univerſally cenſured for his vices; and then on a ſudden ſeemed to be reconciled to the king, who was murdered ſoon after. Bothwel was accuſed by the public voice, but was cleared by an irregular trial; after which he carried off the queen, and married her. Mary then became an object of deteſtation, as his accomplice. The Scots rebelled, threw her into priſon, and obliged her to abdicate the crown; ſoon after which, ſhe eſcaped, and took refuge in England (1568.) We ſhall ſee how ſhe was treated there by Elizabeth.

Murder of the king.

The queen marries Bothwel, and loſes the crown.

She eſcapes into England, where Elizabeth deteſted her.

This princeſs governed her kingdom with admirable prudence, turning her attention to the improvement of the navy, commerce, agriculture, and, in ſhort, every object of political adminiſtration. But in Mary ſhe beheld only a rival that eclipſed her in beauty, and gave her uneaſineſs. She had not ſufficient generoſity to ſacrifice her intereſt to virtue; and, notwithſtanding her great qualities, was weak enough to give way to the exceſſes of little female jealouſy.

Wiſe government of this princeſs.

Let us return to the continent, where religious quarrels, which the prudence of Elizabeth found means to prevent in her own kingdom, unhinged the other ſtates.

The ſuperſtitious deſpotiſm of Philip II. naturally tended to produce rebellions in every part of his dominions. This prince, whoſe thirſt of heretical blood could not be allayed, was deſirous that the inquiſition ſhould be inveſted with the ſame power in Italy and Flanders, as in Spain. But the Milaneſe and Neapolitans refuſed to admit that trbunal, whoſe yoke he endeavoured to impoſe on them; and the love of liberty, being more congenial to the Flemings, produced more dreadful convulſions.

Philip II. in vain attempts to eſtabliſh the inquiſition at Naples & Milan.

As the Proteſtant doctrine had made great progreſs in the Low Countries, Philip turned his mercileſs zeal principally on that quarter. The eſtabliſhment of thirteen new biſhoprics in theſe provinces, by Paul IV. was evidently deſigned to haraſs men's conſciences, and

Seditions in the Low Countries.

became an additional burden to the people. Margaret, dutcheſs of Parma, the king's ſiſter, and governeſs of the country, was guided by the advice of the cardinal Granvelle, archbiſhop of Malineo, whoſe haughty and inflexible ſpirit made him an object of hatred. Murmurs broke out, and the ſevere orders of the court of Spain heightened the miſchief. The obſervation of the decrees enacted by the council of Trent was enjoined, and violence uſed to enforce them. At laſt, a ſedition was raiſed, of a more dangerous nature, as it was headed by two men equally illuſtrious for their merit and their birth; William Naſſau, prince of Orange, and count Egmond; both of them well ſkilled in the art of ſetting in motion the ſprings of religion, whence the politics of ambitious men derived ſuch ſtrength.

1565. Conference at Bayonne which alarms the Proteſtants.

At that time, Catharine Medici made a progreſs through France, with her ſon Charles IX. under pretence of the public good; and they were met at Bayonne by the queen of Spain, ſiſter to Charles, accompanied by the celebrated duke of Alva, who ſoon after was the ſcourge of the Flemings. The deſign of this journey was a conference, which had been long before agreed upon. Adriani, the continuator of Guicciardini, ſays, that it was held at the ſolicitation of the pope, who propoſed that Philip himſelf ſhould be preſent. Every thing was carried on in the moſt private and myſterious manner; but the Proteſtants thought they had diſcovered the ſecret, and believed, with ſufficient probability, that a ſcheme was laid for their deſtruction. Suſpicious, diſcontented, and, notwithſtanding the edict of pacification, ſubjected to vexations in France, as well as other countries, nothing more was requiſite to make them form new projects of rebellion. How great was the infatuation of governments! They wanted to exterminate the ſubjects, that they might have Catholics!

Death of Pius IV.

The court of Rome likewiſe gave the ſectaries new cauſes of reſentment. Pius IV. a voluptuous pope,

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was lately dead. After the example of his predeceſſors, he had indulged the madneſs of Nepotiſm, and laviſhed his favours on the Borromei, his ſiſter's ſons; one of whom was cardinal Charles Barromeo, archbiſhop of Milan, a holy prelate, whoſe memory is honoured by the church. The new pope (Ghiſleri) Pius V. a man of obſcure birth, and a temper inexorably rigid, was better fitted for ſpreading terrour, than governing with moderation. He had formerly been a Dominican and grand inquiſitor under Paul IV. in which office he ſhewed himſelf the worthy miniſter of that pontiff's violent zeal. Scarce was he ſeated on the papal throne, when he cauſed ſome illuſtrious perſonages to be burned as heretics; Carneſecchi, whom, though honoured with the friendſhip of Coſmo Medici, that prince was weak enough to put into his hands; Zanetti, in the ſame manner given up by the ſenate of Venice; and the learned Palearius, whoſe crime was, having called the inquiſition a *dagger held over the heads of men of letters*. A ſevere edict, which he publiſhed againſt the courteſans, would infallibly have produced the greateſt diſorders among the numerous inhabitants of Rome, who lived in celibacy, if it had not been mitigated on the repreſentations of men of prudence. We may immediately judge that this pope, who is ſufficiently known by his bull *In cœna Domini*, publiſhed in 1568, was ill calculated for governing the church in ſuch preſſing exigences; and that the Romiſh worſhip became every day more odious to the Proteſtants.

Violent zeal of Pius V.

Illuſtrious perſonages, whom he cauſed to be burned as heretics.

Thoſe of the Low Countries, who were ſtyled *Gueux* (beggars) loſt all hopes of peace. The inquiſition, the new biſhoprics, the laws to force conſcience, the vexations, the torments, and death, to which they were ſubjected, ſeemed to provoke a rebellion; and their petitions being fruitleſs, they gave way to the utmoſt rage of fanaticiſm. Philip II. held a grand council, to deliberate on the means of putting a ſtop to the ſedition. The moſt prudent in vain propoſed gentle methods; he followed his

1567. Revolt of the *Gueux* in Flanders.

The duke of Alva ſent into that country.

inclination, and the ſanguinary counſels of the duke of Alva (Alvarez of Toledo,) whom he diſpatched at the head of an army, *to avenge the cauſe of God and the honour of the crown.* This was ſending a tyrant, who would either exterminate the people, or make them furious and unconquerable. The prince of Orange had prudently retired into Germany; but the counts Egmond and Horn refuſed to follow him, from too great confidence in their credit and power. In a ſhort time they were arreſted; the priſons were crowded; the gibbet, the ſcaffold, and the ſtake, filled every heart with horrour.

Judgment of the Spaniſh inquiſition.

In a word, the Spaniſh inquiſition, being conſulted by the king, declared, that the whole inhabitants of the Low Countries, except a ſmall number, were apoſtates, heretics, and guilty of high treaſon; particularly the nobles, who had preſented petitions, or publiſhed complaints, againſt the holy inquiſition. This deciſion was

Execution of the counts Egmond and Horn.

adopted for a rule; and count Egmond, to whom Philip was principally indebted for the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines, was executed, together with Horn. Their blood, mingled with that of an infinite number of other victims, may be ſaid to have cemented the foundations of the famous republic of Holland, which we ſhall ſoon ſee formed.

New religious wars in France.

France likewiſe experienced anew the horrours of religious wars. A body of ſix thouſand Swiſs, whom the queen mother had raiſed under a falſe pretext, probably with a view to oppreſs the religioniſts, irritated them the more, as they had already many reaſons to complain; they therefore again took arms; but were

Three battles loſt by the Calviniſts.

defeated at St. Denis, where the conſtable Montmorenci, after gaining the victory, fell covered with wounds, at the age of near fourſcore. The following year, 1568, peace was concluded, but laſted only ſix months. Catharine Medici, who broke all her conventions, having formed a reſolution to put Condé and the admiral Coligni under confinement, the Proteſtants again rebelled. The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, under the direction

rection of the mareſchal de Tavannes, gained over them the battle of Jarnac, where was ſlain, in cool blood, the famous Condé, chief of the party, a prince worthy of the greateſt encomiums, had he not been guilty of rebellion. The young prince of Bearn (Henry IV.) ſon to the king of Navarre, then only ſixteen years of age, was declared chief of the league. Coligni and Dandelot found reſources in their genius, their activity, and the Proteſtants of Germany. The duke of Anjou gained a ſecond victory at Moncontour, but it was attended with ſcarce any advantageous conſequences.

1569. Battle of Jarnac.

Though the Calviniſts had loſt four battles, they ſeem to have dictated the terms of peace. By the treaty of St. Germain, they were granted ſome cautionary towns, and, among others, Rochelle; and declared capable of holding all offices. Thus they obtained much more than the liberty of conſcience, which was at firſt the ſole object of their wiſhes. To judge of the blindneſs of the courts and zealots of the ſixteenth century, we need only make a plain reflection. What ill effects could have reſulted from indulgence, when the progreſs and fanaticiſm of the ſects ſeemed to make it neceſſary? It would have deadened the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, prevented wars, ſaved the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and undoubtedly the church and the crowned heads would not have been ſo great loſers, becauſe perſecutions always produced inſurrections. We ſhall ſoon ſee the wounds of religion and the ſtate opened afreſh by the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

1570. Treaty of St. Germain, where they obtain all they deſire.

A prudent indulgence would have prevented great miſchiefs.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Famous War againſt the Turks.—Pius V.—*Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.—Death of Charles* IX.

Diſgrace of the chancellor de l'Hoſpital, on account of a bull publiſhed by Pius V.

CATHARINE Medici, formerly ſo favourable to the Proteſtants, becauſe ſhe ſtood in need of them, now thought only of working their deſtruction, becauſe ſhe feared them. Accordingly, the chancellor de l'Hoſpital was diſgraced in the year 1568. Being a friend to peace, from love to his country, his religion was ſuſpected, and his wiſe counſels could not be endured. Pius V. had permitted the king to alienate church lands to the amount of fifty thouſand crowns *per annum*, on condition that he would employ that ſum in exterminating the heretics, or forcing them to ſubmiſſion; but l'Hoſpital ſhewed the inhuman tendency of this bull, and, according to De Thou, that brought on his diſgrace. An unlucky omen to the kingdom!

Bull *In cœna Domini.*

The bull *In cœna Domini* then appeared, which excommunicated all princes who ſhould exact from the clergy any contribution whatever; as alſo whoever ſhould believe the pope ſubject to a general council, or appeal to a council from his decrees; annihilated the rights of the civil power, and reſerved to the Roman pontiff the privilege of abſolving from numberleſs anathemas with which it was filled. It ſeemed as if Pius V. had wanted to make the Catholics, as well as the heretics, ſhake off the Roman yoke. Philip II. though the moſt ſuperſtitious of princes, roſe in oppoſition to this bull, and forbid its being executed under ſevere penalties. The popes have publiſhed it anew every year, down to the preſent pontificate; but they have wounded themſelves with this dangerous weapon.

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War against the Turks.

The war carried on by the Turks had long been added to the civil and religious diſſenſions with which Europe was diſtracted; and the Chriſtians choſe rather to deſtroy one another for ſome articles of belief, than to unite their ſtrength againſt the mortal enemy of Chriſtendom. The Spaniards had a little before taken ſome places in the kingdom of Algiers, when Soliman ſent a fleet of three hundred ſail, in 1565, againſt the iſle of Malta. This famous expedition coſt him forty thouſand men. The grand maſter De la Valette, a Frenchman, like D'Aubuſſon and Liſle Adam, who had gained immortal renown at Rhodes, had the glory of driving out the Muſſulmen; but the following year they made themſelves maſters of Scio, ravaged the coaſts of Italy, and Soliman took by aſſault the town of Zigeth in Hungary.

Siege of Malta.

Death of Soliman.

He died three days before the taking of the citadel, at the age of ſeventy ſix: a hero endowed with a greater ſhare of virtue, and even of knowledge, than moſt potentates of his time. He had inſtructed himſelf in the ſchool of hiſtory, and made Cæſar's commentaries his particular ſtudy, having cauſed them to be tranſlated into his own language. He reigned over vaſt territories, extending from Algiers to the Euphrates, Hungary, of which he made an entire conqueſt, opened to him the gates of Germany.

The Turks take the iſle of Cyprus.

His ſon Selim II. took from the Venetians the iſle of Cyprus in 1571; when the ſenator Bragadino, governour of Famaguſta, was flayed alive by the Turks, in revenge for the dreadful loſs they ſuffered in the ſiege of that place; amounting, it is ſaid, to no leſs than fourſcore thouſand men.

1571. League formed againſt them by Pius V.

Pius V. who ſtirred up inſurrections in England, excommunicated Elizabeth, and declared her deprived of the crown. Though by his bull *In cœna Domini* he ſeemed to have denounced war againſt all Chriſtian princes, yet he formed laudable ſchemes, and had entered into a league with the king of Spain and the Venetians, for

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the preſervation of ſo important an iſland. Marc Antonio Colonna commanded the pope's gallies, and prince Doria thoſe of Philip. The fleet put to ſea; but differences ariſing between the commanders, and the operations proceeding ſlowly, it met with no ſucceſs. Pius ſoon after reviving the ſacred league, a formidable armament of two hundred gallies and ſeveral other veſſels was ſuddenly fitted out. The celebrated don John of Auſtria, a natural ſon of Charles V. was named admiral in chief: Colonna and the Venetian Veniero had each their command.

Battle of Lepanto gained by don John of Auſtria.

The Turkiſh fleet, which guarded the coaſts of the Morea, and conſiſted of about two hundred and fifty gallies, was attacked near the gulph of Lepanto, and entirely defeated, with the loſs of more than one hundred and fifty gallies; yet the victors gained nothing but glory. On this occaſion, Philip, notwithſtanding all his diſſimulation, diſcovered ſome marks of the jealouſy which he entertained of his brother's merit.—*Don John has been lucky*, ſaid he, *but he has run a great riſk.* The pope, who entertained a much more lively ſenſe of the ſucceſs of that glorious day, cried out—*There was a man ſent of God, and his name was John.* Two years after, don John made himſelf maſter of Tunis; a conqueſt which Spain enjoyed only a ſingle year.

1572. Alliance propoſed by the pope to the Arabians and Perſians.

It is ſaid that the death of Pius V. was celebrated at Conſtantinople by three days rejoicings; ſo formidable had that pope made himſelf to the Turks. He invited the Perſians and Arabians to join in the alliance againſt them; telling theſe nations in his letters, that the difference of religion ought not to hinder them from uniting with the Chriſtians; that men who were connected by a common intereſt ought not to be looked upon as diſunited, either by difference of opinions or diſtance of place. A maxim very remarkable in the mouth of the moſt dreadful enemy of the heretics. It ſeems, then, that the common intereſt of ſociety, humanity, and Chriſtianity, could not unite Chriſtians among themſelves,

A remarkable contradiction.

ſelves, who were divided on ſome points of doctrine, or the mode of worſhip; while political intereſt might connect them with nations who were enemies to the Chriſtian faith! Theſe abſurd contradictions, ſo frequently met with in hiſtory, and ſo well calculated to diſplay the influence of paſſion and prejudice, appear to me to be a ſource of inſtruction for all who deſire to be acquainted with the ſecret ſprings of the human heart.

Pius V. makes a great duke of Tuſcany.

A diſpute for precedence ariſing between Coſmo Medici and the duke of Ferrara, it was terminated by Pius V. who in 1569 created the former *grand* duke of Tuſcany, in virtue of the power which God had given him, and—*becauſe, in quality of paſtor, it belonged to him to examine who deſerved extraordinary honours by their zeal for the Holy See*; when, notwithſtanding the reclamation of the emperour Maximilian, Coſmo, graced with this title, went to Rome in order to be crowned, and take an oath to the pope, as his liege lord.

Falſe reaſons to authorize this ſtep.

The cardinal Commendon, an able negotiator, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to juſtify this ſtep of Pius V. quoting as authorities the many crowns that had been beſtowed by the popes. He even had the boldneſs to affirm, that they had transferred the empire of the Eaſt to the Weſt; that they had eſtabliſhed the electors; and that pope Zachary had degraded Chilperic, and made Pepin king of France. The affair was accommodated for a ſum of money in 1574, under the pontificate of Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagno,) ſucceſſor of Pius.

Conſciences ſtill forced.

If it is ſtrange that the court of Rome audaciouſly maintained her old pretenſions, though attacked on every ſide, it is ſtill more wonderful that, after ſo many fatal experiments, the practice of forcing conſciences, and combating hereſy with perſecution, ſhould be obſtinately continued. On one ſide, the duke of Alva reduced the Flemings to deſpair; built the citadel of Antwerp to oppreſs them; and erected for himſelf a boaſtful monument of braſs, where, trampling on the Proteſtants,

Proteſtants, he boaſted of having ſecured the triumph of religion, and the peace of the provinces. On the other ſide, the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated in France, and filled up the meaſure of horrours.

Marriage of the king of Navarre with the ſiſter of Charles IX.

The Proteſtants were careſſed, in order to ſmother them. Margaret, ſiſter of Charles IX. being offered to young Henry, king of Navarre, this marriage had brought him to Paris with his couſin the prince of Condé, and drawn after them the principal leaders of the party. Even the admiral Coligni had ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled by the hopes of a war againſt Philip II. on account of the revolt in the Low Countries. As he ardently deſired to revenge the perſecutions which the Calviniſts ſuffered from that monarch, this flattering illuſion had lulled his prudence aſleep. In a word, all animoſity ſeemed extinguiſhed in the midſt of feaſts and diverſions. But queen Catharine and her ſon Charles were capable of perpetrating the blackeſt acts of tyranny.

Letter to the admiral Coligni. Suſpicions of the Proteſtants.

A letter, extant in De Thou, which was received by the admiral at Paris, and which filled him with indignation, will ſhew the ſuſpicions and fears of ſome leſs credulous Proteſtants. The ſubſtance of it is as follows: "Remember it is a maxim received among the Papiſts "as a point of religion—*that faith ought not to be kept "with heretics*. Remember that, in their eyes, Proteſ- "tants are heretics, who will be eternally objects of "their hatred; and that the queen mother wants to "deſtroy them. Remember that a woman, by birth a "foreigner, an Italian, deſcended from a family of "popes, naturally treacherous, muſt proceed to the "greateſt extremities againſt her enemies. Reflect "what kind of education the king has received. To "ſwear, to forſwear, to debauch maidens and married "women; to diſguiſe his faith, his religion, and his "deſigns; to compoſe his countenance; are things "which from early youth he has been taught to look "upon as a ſport. And to accuſtom him to ſhed the

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"blood of his people, it was made his diverſion even in "his infancy, to ſee animals ſlaughtered and diſmem- "bered. A faithful diſciple of Machiavel, and per- "ſuaded that the Proteſtants have formed a deſign to "deprive him of his crown and life, he will never ſuf- "fer men who have taken arms againſt him, whether "juſtly or unjuſtly, to enjoy the peace which he hath "granted," &c. Were theſe diſtruſts ill grounded? We ſhall judge of them by the fact.

1572. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

The marriage with the king of Navarre was celebrated on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1572; and on the twenty ſecond, Coligni was wounded by a ſhot from an harquebuſs, as he was going to his houſe; upon which Charles IX. paid him a viſit, promiſed to puniſh the aſſaſſin, and gave marks of the moſt lively ſorrow. Yet on the night between the twenty third and twenty fourth began, by order of the court, a dreadful maſſacre of the Proteſtants. The Duke of Guiſe (Henry the Balafré [the Slaſhed] ſon of Francis) went in perſon to the admiral's gate, and cauſed that great man to be murdered. The ſtreets, the houſes, floated in blood. The rage of the murderers ſpared neither age nor ſex, and even confounded the Catholics with the Huguenots. The king had the barbarity to fire upon his unhappy ſubjects, and afterwards beheld with pleaſure Coligni's body inſulted by the populace. Orders were ſent for perpetrating the ſame butchery in the provinces. In a word, hiſtorians reckon at leaſt ſixty thouſand, ſome one hundred thouſand, victims of this infernal ſlaughter; yet there were ſome commandants of provinces courageous enough to refuſe being the butchers of their fellow ſubjects. Their diſobedience makes at preſent their encomium.

This barbarity authorized and celebrated.

To crown this horrid act, nothing was wanting but in a manner to affix to it the ſeal of law and religion. The king declared, that every thing was done by his orders; alledging for a pretext an imaginary plot formed by the ſectaries againſt the royal family. The parliament

liament ordered an annual proceſſion to celebrate the deliverance of the kingdom. A medal was ſtruck with this legend—PIETY PUT THE SWORD INTO THE HAND OF JUSTICE; a legend which juſtice and piety ought to have proſcribed as a libel. At Rome and in Spain, the maſſacre was made a ſubject of public rejoicings; but, at leaſt, theſe ought to have been ſuſpended till the conſequences of the event could be determined.

1573. The Calviniſts become more formidable.

What prudence ought to have foreſeen, now came to paſs. Calviniſm, inſtead of being deſtroyed by the maſſacre, became more formidable by deſpair and a thirſt of revenge. A fourth civil war was kindled. Rochelle made a deſperate defence againſt the duke of Anjou, who loſt almoſt his whole army before the place. The town of Sancerre held out a ſiege of more than ſeven months; and the inhabitants ſhewed themſelves ſo many heroes of fanaticiſm. It was found neceſſary to grant them liberty of conſcience. The inhabitants of Rochelle not only obtained an advantageous capitulation for themſelves, but cauſed the towns of Niſmes and Montauban to be comprehended in it.

Death of Charles IX.

Charles IX. who from the time of the maſſacre had been a prey to diſeaſe, died in the midſt of the troubles in 1574, at the age of twenty four, without iſſue male. His tutor Amiot had given him a taſte for learning, which naturally inſpires humanity; but his mother, his courtiers, and above all the mareſchal de Retz, a Florentine, had tainted him with deteſtable maxims, more calculated to prompt to all the crimes of tyranny.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Beginning of the Reign of Henry III.—*Continuation of the Troubles in the Low Countries.*

THE duke of Anjou, whom Montluc, biſhop of Valence, had procured to be elected king of Poland, ſucceeded to the throne of France, under the name of Henry III. This is the third ſon of Catharine, whom we ſee aſcend it, and he will not be the leaſt unhappy. Dreading leſt the Poles ſhould detain him, he withdrew privately, as if he had been a priſoner making his eſcape. The emperour and the Venetians fruitleſſly adviſed him, while he was paſſing through their dominions, to treat the Proteſtants with gentleneſs, in order to reſtore tranquillity in his kingdom. He was one of the adviſers of the maſſacre, and to the utmoſt depravity of manners added the external obſervances of the loweſt ſuperſtition. His minions were his oracles, their counſels he followed, by their caprices he was governed; he immediately ſhewed tokens of a ſanguinary reign; made himſelf odious and contemptible to his ſubjects; and, in a word, from the very moment of his acceſſion, loſt that ſhining reputation, for which he was indebted to the talents of ſome able generals. 1574. Henry III. ſoon loſes his reputation.

Henry had ſtill a ſurviving brother, the duke of Alençon, afterwards duke of Anjou; and this giddy, turbulent prince had put himſelf at the head of a cabal, called that of the *Politicians*, the purpoſe of which was to humble the princes of Lorrain, who had an abſolute ſway over the queen mother. The king of Navarre, whom Charles IX. had conſtrained to abjure Calviniſm after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, had entered into the ſame faction. Charles had put them both under confinement; but Henry ſet them at liberty without gaining Faction of the Politicians. The king of Navarre united with the duke of Anjou.

gaining them over. His brother even conſpired againſt his life, afterwards fled from court, and was followed by the king of Navarre, who immediately declared himſelf a good Proteſtant. The prince of Condé, a fugitive in Germany, had given an example of relapſing into hereſy; ſo true it is, that if force may produce diſſimulation, it works no change, or rather more firmly eſtabliſhes religious opinions.

Death of the cardinal de Lorrain.

The Proteſtants then found themſelves ſtrengthened by the *Politicians*; the rebellion was headed by the king's brother, and the princes of the blood were enemies of the monarch. Thus does bad government foment diſorders and civil wars. The cardinal de Lorrain, the principal author of the troubles, died about that time at an age not greatly advanced. It is eaſy to judge, whether his conduct was animated by ambition or true zeal; notwithſtanding his great pretences to which, when he was negotiating with the German Proteſtants, in 1562, both he and the duke of Guiſe gave them hopes, that the confeſſion of Augſburg might be eſtabliſhed in France; and though at the council of Trent he had ſpoken in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt the plurality of benefices, yet he poſſeſſed nine archbiſhoprics or biſhoprics, and nine abbies. A prelate, whoſe whole thoughts and affections were centered in courts, who was of a cruel temper, and a ſlave to ambition, muſt neceſſarily irritate fanaticiſm. The Catholic faction (for we find nothing here but factions) would have loſt a great deal by his death, had not the new duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed all the qualities proper for the head of a party.

Falſehood of his zeal.

1576. Fifth edict of pacification, the moſt favourable to the Calviniſts.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, a German army being come to the aſſiſtance of the confederates, it was found neceſſary to conclude a peace. The Calviniſts obtained conditions much more advantageous than the preceding: the public exerciſe of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; chambers, conſiſting of half Proteſtants, half Catholics, in the eight parliaments

ments of the kingdom. The children of prieſts and married monks were declared legitimate; the memory of Coligni cleared from every ſtain; the chiefs of the confederacy declared faithful ſubjects; and Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Berri, added to the appanage of the duke of Alençon. Even the departure of the Germans was purchaſed; and France as well as Germany experienced, that religious wars only ſerved to extend the views, the progreſs, and the power of the religioniſts. This is the fifth edition of pacification paſſed in their favour.

Philip II. the principal cauſe of all the evils.

Theſe diſaſters, as well as thoſe which we are yet to lament, are in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to Philip II. Not content with giving his ſubjects reaſon to rebel, by the deſpotic rule which he affected to bear over conſciences, he animated the court of France to the ſame rigours, and every where raiſed the ſame ſtorms, that he might take advantage of the misfortunes of his neighbours. A woful compenſation for thoſe which he brought upon his own dominions!

The Moriſcos perſecuted & rebel.

The Moriſcos in Spain (this was the name given to the Moors, who put on the appearance of converts out of fear) were haraſſed upon account of their cuſtoms, their dreſs, and even their language. A ſanguinary theologian had pronounced their ſentence in a few words —*of enemies always the feweſt*. They rebelled in 1568, called the Turks and Algerines to their aſſiſtance, ſuſtained a furious civil war, and perhaps would have ſpread the conflagration over the whole kingdom, had their worſhip been of a nature to ſeduce the Spaniards; in a word, they did not ſubmit but upon the faith of an amneſty. The troubles in the Netherlands, a country of freemen, and at a diſtance from the monarch, could end only in a revolution.

The duke of Alva continues his cruelties.

The more cruelties that were committed by the duke of Alva and his *bloody* tribunal, and the more he oppreſſed that free people by unheard of impoſitions, colouring thoſe acts of violence under a pretence of religion;

gion; the more were the ſectaries inflamed with hatred againſt the church and the monarchy. In 1570, the prince of Orange ſhewed himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, and two years after, the ſtates of Holland and Zealand eſtabliſhed him ſtadtholder, and abjured the Roman faith. The love of liberty made heroes of men unuſed to arms. At laſt, the duke of Alva was recalled in 1573. The blood of eighteen thouſand perſons, who in five years had been given up to the executioner for hereſy, cried for vengeance on this perſecutor, and he gloried in his cruelty.

Total revolt of of the Dutch.

Requeſens, who ſucceeded him, threw down the ſtatue, the erection of which had been an inſult on humanity. The new governour publiſhed an act of indemnity; for Philip began to dread, that violent remedies would ſtill increaſe the evil; but it produced no effect, the people chooſing rather to continue the war, than to truſt the clemency of a perfidious king. Requeſens, by his virtues and great talents, would have been capable of reſtoring affairs; but he died in 1576. Leyden was beſieged by his troops, but had eſcaped the danger by breaking the dykes, and laying the country under water.

Government of Requeſens.

Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Charles V. who had acquired ſo great glory by the victory of Lepanto, and the taking of Tunis, was appointed ſucceſſor to Requeſens, and ſet out with full powers to grant the rebels all their demands, except liberty of conſcience.—*Never will I grant them that*, ſaid Philip, *though I ſhould hazard the loſs of my crown.* It ſeems then, that provinces were to be loſt, and hereſy left triumphant in them, rather than be kept, and the heretics if poſſible converted, or made good ſubjects! Superſtition reaſons in a manner altogether incomprehenſible. All the gentle methods at firſt employed by don John were ineffectual, either becauſe men's minds were filled with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm and revenge, or becauſe the prince of Orange, from motives of ambition, was deſirous of aggrandizing

Don John of Auſtria ſucceeds him.

grandizing himſelf by means of the troubles. The war was again kindled; and we ſhall ſee that Philip, notwithſtanding all his forces, met with a reſiſtance which he could not conquer.

A multitude of Flemings, flying from perſecution, had carried their manufactures into England. Thus Elizabeth reaped advantage from the faults committed by Philip; but the commotions raiſed againſt her, in favour of Mary Stuart, not permitting her to declare openly for the Hollanders, ſhe waited till a favourable opportunity offered, which we ſhall ſoon ſee her embrace.

The Flemings take refuge in England.

CHAP. VI.

Origin of the League.—Philip II. *makes himſelf Maſter of Portugal, and loſes the United Provinces.*

THE privileges granted to the Calviniſts by the laſt edict of pacification, were too great not to excite the moſt violent reſentment in the Catholics; and the conduct of Henry III. was too bad not to draw upon him the hatred of both parties. Even the hypocriſy with which he veiled his infamous debaucheries, neceſſarily expoſed him to the contempt of thoſe, whoſe exerciſes of devotion he affected to imitate. The fraternities of penitents, blue, white, and black, invented in Italy, where the ſpirit of the ancient flagellants ſeemed to revive, made themſelves a public ſpectacle, not only in the provinces, but in the middle of the court. The monarch aſſumed their liveries, aſſiſted at their proceſſions in ſackcloth, with a large chaplet in his hand, and a diſcipline in the rope with which he was girded. He fancied, that by this means he ſhould impoſe upon the Catholics; and did not ſee, that beſides the

Debaucheries and hypocriſy of Henry III.

Fraternities of penitents.

the turpitude of his manners, the triumph of the Calviniſts was in their eyes an indelible crime.

1576. Origin of the league. All at once was formed the *Holy League*, which had long before been projected by the cardinal de Lorrain, and which bears the ſtamp of his arrogant and ſeditious ſpirit. According to the form of the aſſociation, which was made in Picardy, the members engaged to defend each other—*either by the way of legal procedure, or of arms, without reſpect of perſons.* Whoever refuſed to enter into the aſſociation, was declared—*an enemy to God, a deſerter of religion, a rebel to the king, a traitor to the country, and given up to all poſſible injuries and oppreſſions.* The leaguers pretended, that their union was formed for the defence of the Catholic religion, the king, and the kingdom; and were not aſhamed to cover, even with the maſk of patriotiſm, the moſt determined ſpirit of rebellion!

The confederacies of the Proteſtants leſs extraordinary. The Proteſtants had given examples of ſimilar confederacies in ſeveral countries, for which they deſerve the more ſevere cenſure, as they had attacked the eſtabliſhed religion. Yet, while we condemn them, it muſt be acknowledged, that when they took theſe ſeditious ſteps, their doctrine had made great progreſs; endeavours were uſed to force their belief; and their faith, liberty and perſons were equally attacked. But here the Catholics could only complain of the progreſs made by a ſect, which they had unluckily emboldened by their own violences; they conſpired its ruin, endeavoured to deprive it of the benefit reſulting from repeated edicts of pacification, rebelled againſt the ſovereign, and made that rebellion a point of duty. We lament the neceſſity of painting the malignant rage of falſe zeal; but it is the only or the moſt effectual means to cure mankind of its contagion.

States of Blois. Henry, duke of Guiſe, the ſoul of the party, was deſtined for its leader; which the king dreaded the more, as in the meeting of the ſtates general at Blois, propoſals were ventured which tended to degrade the royal

royal authority. He thought he could eſcape this danger by declaring himſelf chief of the league; an abſurd meaſure, which encouraged and ſtrengthened a party, whence he had every thing to dread. Liberty of conſcience was from thenceforth to be ſuppreſſed. It was determined by the ſtates, that no religion except the Catholic ſhould be permitted in the kingdom; and they even retrenched a clauſe, which at firſt had paſſed with great reaſon—*as far as ſhall not be detrimental to public tranquillity, and for that effect it be not neceſſary to have recourſe to arms.* The prelates ſolicited the acceptance of the council of Trent; which they would have obtained, had it not been for the oppoſition made by the deputies of ſome provinces.

The king declares himſelf head of the league.

This meeting of the ſtates, and the king's conduct, ſowed new ſeeds of war; and it was found neceſſary to publiſh another edict of pacification, by which the Proteſtants were again granted a toleration, but not the public exerciſe of their worſhip. What was the natural reſult of ſo many changes and inconſiſtencies? Contempt for the laws, reſtleſſneſs and animoſity among the parties, and a long ſeries of civil wars. The following very remarkable clauſe was inſerted in the edict—*Until it ſhall pleaſe God, by means of a* good, free, and lawful council, *again to unite all the ſubjects of the Catholic church!* The council of Trent had produced ſo little real good in that reſpect, that probably it was thought neceſſary to propoſe another. But nothing leſs than a miracle could have made a change in the opinions, and reconciled the minds, of men, who were wedded to their principles no leſs by animoſity than religious motives.

1577. Another edict of pacification.

A wiſe and enlightened prince, by a mixture of firmneſs and clemency, moderation and juſtice, would at leaſt have prevented the troubles; but Henry III. minded nothing except his pleaſures. He laviſhed the revenues of the ſtate upon his minions; and was lulled to ſleep in the midſt of factions, to which he ſoon after fell a victim. The beſt thing that he did during the

The king's conduct prognoſticates new troubles.

peace was, eſtabliſhing the order of the Holy Ghoſt, from which all but Catholics were excluded. But however ambitious men may be of every mark of honour that would diſtinguiſh them at court, the Calviniſt lords had then a more ſeducing object of ambition; that of governing a party, and making themſelves reſpected by the oppoſite ſide.

1578. The Netherlands torn in pieces by four princes.

The prince of Orange, in the Netherlands, was actuated by the ſame motives. After the arrival of don John of Auſtria, he had again formed a confederacy at Bruſſels. The Flemings choſe for their governour the archduke Mathias, brother of the emperour Rodolphus II. and the prince of Orange fancied that he ſhould govern under the name of the archduke; but, ſeeing his hopes deceived, ſet up the duke of Anjou (formerly duke of Alençon,) whom the Catholics put at their head; for they, as well as the Proteſtants, were diſguſted with the Spaniſh yoke. Thus four princes at that time tore in pieces a country, where the quarrels of religion and the abuſes of deſpotiſm gave birth to every evil. Philip II. jealous of his brother, and ſuſpicious of his deſigns, did not give him the ſuccours neceſſary in ſo critical circumſtances; notwithſtanding which, don John defeated the rebels at Gembloux, and took ſeveral places; but he died in the midſt of his triumphs, leaving the command to his nephew Alexander Farneſe, prince of Parma, the worthy ſucceſſor of a hero.

Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, ſlain in an expedition into Africa.

While the Spaniſh monarch was threatened with the ſpeedy loſs of Holland, his ambition ſeized a crown, which in juſtice did not belong to him. Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, intoxicated with that ſpirit of chivalry, the examples of which became every day more rare, and hurried away by the imprudent fire of youth, was obſtinately bent on ſignalizing himſelf againſt the Moors in Africa; in conſequence of which, he accepted the propoſals of Muley Mahomet, who had been driven out of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco by his uncle Muley

Muley Moluc; and, contrary to the advice of his wiſe counſellors, embarked with all his forces in an expedition which Philip had prudently declined. Having landed in Africa with an army of about fifteen thouſand men, and the enemy, who were vaſtly ſuperiour in number, offering him battle, he braved the danger, fought, and was ſlain; and almoſt all the Chriſtians periſhed or were taken priſoners. The two Mooriſh kings loſt their lives, as well as the king of Portugal.

1579. He is ſucceeded by the cardinal Henry.

Sebaſtian leaving no children, his grand uncle cardinal Henry, a prieſt and archbiſhop, ſucceeded him, and ſolicited the pope for a diſpenſation to marry, of which the nation was deſirous; but Philip, who aſpired to that crown, found means to prevent the diſpenſation from being ſent. In conformity to the Roman politics, Gregory XIII. gained time, and that was gaining every thing.

Philip II. ſeizes that crown after the death of Henry.

This prieſtly king died the year following, and his ſucceſſion was claimed by a number of pretenders: Philip, who was his nephew by the mother's ſide; the duke of Braganza, married to the grand daughter of the king Emanuel; don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural ſon of an infanto; the duke of Savoy; the duke of Parma; Catharine Medici; and even the pope, who renewed the ancient chimera of that kingdom being a fief to the Holy See, and likewiſe affirmed that he had a right to gather the ſpoils of a cardinal. The duke of Braganza's claim was preferable to all the others; but the king of Spain had taken his precautions; and an army ſupplying the defects of his title, he was received at Liſbon. The prior of Crato, aſſiſted by a French army and fleet, which were granted him by the queen mother, ſtruggled in vain with a monarch who was too much his ſuperiour in power. The Azores or Tercera iſlands, which became the theatre of the war, were ſubdued by the marquis de Santa Cruz; and don Antonio took refuge in France.

Philip

A price offered for the heads of illuſtrious men.

Philip had ſet a price upon his head, as he did ſometime after on that of the prince of Orange. The admiral Coligni had been treated in the ſame manner in France. That civil wars ſhould have revived the Roman proſcriptions, is not ſurpriſing; but that a religion, which breathes the ſpirit of peace and charity, ſhould be the chief pretext for thoſe barbarities, muſt ſhock every man of feeling, and ought forever to inſpire the greateſt horrour againſt fanaticiſm, that dreadful inſtrument of the paſſions moſt contrary to humanity.

Union of Utrecht, which could not be ſupported by its own ſtrength.

The Low Countries ſtood in need of powerful ſuccours againſt a deſpot, who was maſter of the treaſures of the new world, ſovereign of a great part of Europe, implacable in his hatred, and a relentleſs perſecutor of conſciences. Being exhauſted by the war, it ſeemed unqueſtionable that they would ſink ſooner or later; and the new governour, Alexander Farneſe, joined all the qualities of a hero to thoſe of a politician. It is true, that in 1579 the prince of Orange had formed the famous union of Utrecht between the ſtates of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Zutphen, with Guelders, Overyſſel, Frieſland, and Groningen; an union which was in a ſhort time received at Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Bruſſels, and, in a word, in moſt of the provinces. But the king of Spain was ſtill acknowledged as ſovereign; and they pretended that the union was only deſigned to oppoſe the injuſtice of the government; when the prince of Orange, finding the neceſſity of having recourſe to a foreign power, perſuaded the confederates to confer the dominion on the duke of Anjou, preſumptive heir to the crown of France.

1581. The ſtates general declare that Philip II. had forfeited the ſovereignty.

At laſt the ſtates general, aſſembled at the Hague, ſolemnly declared, that Philip II. had forfeited the ſovereignty, by violating the privileges of the people, in contradiction to his oath. The act bore in ſubſtance—"That the people are not born for the princes, but "that God hath eſtabliſhed the princes for the people; "that there cannot be a prince without a people, but

"that

"that the people may ſubſiſt without a prince; that it "is the duty of the latter to love his people, as a father "loves his children, and to govern them with perfect "equity; that if he acts otherwiſe, he is no longer "a prince but a tyrant, and that the people owe him "no obedience; that they had long complained of the "cruelty of their governours; that their complaints "and petitions had been laid before the king; but, far "from obtaining the leaſt conceſſion, they had not been "able to diſſuade him from the deſign of impoſing on "them an intolerable yoke, under pretence of protect-"ing the Catholic religion, on which they made no at-"tack; that the divine and human laws, which had "been ſo often violated to do them an injury, reſtored "to them their natural liberty, and gave them a right "to elect a new prince, to govern them according to "their privileges, liberties, and franchiſes," &c. Thus the rebellion was completed. (See *De Thou*, l. 74.)

A circumſtance perhaps equally remarkable with this act of the United Provinces was, that the king of Spain, in his edict of proſcription againſt the prince of Orange, acknowledges that he had not obſerved the oath which he took, when inveſted with the ſovereignty of the Low Countries, and pleaded a diſpenſation from the pope. But by this means he furniſhed the Flemings with a ſpecious pretext to think themſelves freed from their oath. For if the pope could diſpenſe the ſovereign from his obligations to the ſubjects, how could theſe pay any regard to their own engagement, which was by formal conditions connected with that of the prince? William, upon whoſe head a price was ſet, had already publiſhed an apology, in which he accuſed Philip with a ſeverity which the proſcription itſelf ſeemed to render allowable.

Philip weakened the allegiance of his ſubjects by pleading a diſpenſation from the pope.

The archduke Mathias had withdrawn; and if the duke of Anjou had acted with prudence, he would doubtleſs by an equitable government have ſecured the affections of that people, whoſe free choice had lately made

1583. Unhappy death of the duke of Anjou.

made him their ſovereign. But, being jealous of the prince of Orange, and ſeduced by the charms of ambition, he wanted to make himſelf abſolute, to ſeize upon the towns, and to aggrandize his authority by force; by which proceedings he only wrought his own ruin, and was obliged to return into France, where he died in 1584. The queen of England had flattered him with hopes of marriage, and even engaged herſelf by promiſes. But though ſhe was in love with that prince, being always apprehenſive of giving herſelf a maſter with a huſband, and reflecting on the juſt fears of the nation (for England might have been annexed to the crown of France,) ſhe had broken with him, in the ſame manner as ſhe had deceived ſo many other princes, to whom ſhe had given hopes of her hand.

He had been on the point of marrying Elizabeth.

The prince of Orange, after having eſcaped two conſpiracies, fell a victim to a fanatic of Franche Comté, named Gerard, who fancied himſelf commanded by heaven to commit that murder. It is poſitively aſſerted, that on the news of his death, the king of Spain exclaimed—*That blow ought to have been ſtruck twelve years ago, for my intereſt, and that of religion.* Accordingly, he was ſuſpected of being its author. The United Provinces, being now more than ever in want of ſuccours, offered the ſovereignty to the king of France. What an opportunity for an able and courageous prince! But the offer was rejected by Henry, whoſe feeble hands could no longer wield the ſceptre.

Prince of Orange aſſaſſinated.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The League openly oppoſes the Bourbons.—Violent Conduct of Sixtus Quintus.—Trial of the Queen of Scotland.—Elizabeth triumphs over Spain.

1584. The leaguers declaim againſt the king of Navarre, preſumptive heir of the crown.

WE now come to the time when the leaguers plainly ſhewed their rebellious projects, which they ſtill varniſhed with a pretence of zeal, and which a blind ſuperſtition rendered ſo fatal to the kingdom. By the death of the duke of Anjou, the king of Navarre (whom I ſhall henceforth ſtyle Henry IV. becauſe he deſerved at an early period the glory attached to that name,) as firſt prince of the blood, became preſumptive heir of the crown. The ambitious duke of Guiſe, whoſe views aſpired even to royalty, dexterouſly ſeized the opportunity of excluding an heretical prince, and overthrowing a weak king, who made himſelf equally an object of contempt and hatred; for which purpoſe he ſet in motion the powerful ſprings of fanaticiſm. The prieſts and monks, in the pulpits, in the ſchools, and private circles, painted in the moſt gloomy colours the imminent danger with which the church was threatened; repreſented the king of Navarre as the ſupport of hereſy; Henry III. as a favourer of heretics, notwithſtanding his exerciſes of devotion; and at laſt wrought up men's minds to the point wiſhed for by the duke.

They conſult pope Gregory XIII. before they rebel.

A Jeſuit of Lorrain, named Matthieu, who was a furious emiſſary of the league, demanded of the pope—*Whether, for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, ſubjects might not withdraw their allegiance from the ſovereign?* Gregory's anſwer, which he did not think proper to commit to writing, was certainly foreſeen; and, authorized by this oracle, the ſcrupulous made it no longer a

doubt

doubt that the rebellion was lawful; the others neither wanted the opinion of pope nor caſuiſts. Men were not ſufficiently maſters of reaſon to ſee, that, if religious zeal juſtified ſuch a ſtep in the Catholics, it furniſhed the ſectaries with an excuſe for their inſurrections; becauſe theſe believed themſelves bound to maintain their falſe doctrines, as being the true religion.

End of this pontificate.

Gregory, who was naturally of a mild and timid temper, ſuffered them to ſpeak in his name, without granting either bull or brief. He died before the rebellion was openly declared. To him the world was indebted for the reformation of the calendar, which was ſo neceſſary, and ſo ill received by the Proteſtants. He had excommunicated all who violated the bull *In cœnæ Domini*. His principles therefore were the ſame with thoſe of the leaguers. His natural ſon (Buoncompagno) had drawn every poſſible advantage from *Nepotiſm*. His

Sixtus V.

ſucceſſor, Sixtus Quintus, formerly a Cordelier, who from extreme poverty had riſen to the ſummit of fortune, a man of vaſt genius, haughty, ſevere, inflexible, bigotted to all the ultramontane principles, afterwards played a diſtinguiſhed part in thoſe ſtormy times.

1585. Cardinal de Bourbon declared chief of the league

As the duke of Guiſe took care not to pull off the maſk too ſoon, he ſet the old cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry IV. at the head of the league, after perſuading him that his nephew being incapable of wearing the crown, upon account of his hereſy, it had devolved upon him. Soon after appeared a manifeſto of the cardinal, declaring himſelf head of the league, and naming the pope, the emperour, the king of Spain, with a number of other Catholic princes, by whom it was ſupported; at the ſame time profeſſing, that the ſole reaſon for taking arms was to ſecure the honour of the church, maintain the true faith, relieve the people, aboliſh the new taxes under which they groaned, &c. This declaration of war was immediately followed by hoſtilities.

Treaty of Nemours advanta-

The king, though ſuperiour in force, was ſtruck with terrour, negotiated, and concluded the treaty of Nemours

mours on the moſt advantageous terms for the leaguers, who obtained ſeveral cautionary towns, ſums of money, and an approbation of their conduct; at the ſame time that the Calviniſts were deprived of all the privileges granted them by the edicts. What more infallible method could be taken to alienate the Calviniſts, make the league more inſolent, and debaſe the royal power? But the government was the ſport of ſtorms and factions. Grants to the leaguers.

At that time Sixtus V. without paying any regard to the league, publiſhed his famous bull, one of the moſt odious ever iſſued by the Roman court; in which, after a pompous encomium on the papal power—*infinitely ſuperiour to all earthly potentates, and which tumbles from their thrones the maſters of the world, to plunge them into the gulph, as miniſters of Lucifer*; he anathematiſes the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé—*the impious and baſtard iſſue of the illuſtrious houſe of Bourbon, heretics, relapſed, enemies of God and religion*; declared them deprived of all their rights, unworthy, they and their poſterity, of ever poſſeſſing any principality whatever; and abſolved all their ſubjects from the oath of allegiance. Bull of Sixtus V. againſt the Bourbons.

The court of France, equally mean ſpirited with the ſovereign, only prohibited the publication of that bull. But Henry IV. cauſed a proteſt to be fixed up in Rome, wherein he appeals to the court of peers; gives the lie to Sixtus, *ſtyling himſelf pope*, retorts the charge of hereſy on that pontiff, offering to prove it in a free and lawful council; declaring that, if the pope refuſed to ſubmit to it, he ſhould look upon him only as an excommunicated perſon and an antichriſt; adding, that he hoped to take vengeance for the inſult offered to the king, the royal family, his own blood, and all the parliaments of the kingdom. Sixtus, who was a good judge of mankind, was now filled with admiration of that prince, as well as of Elizabeth; and, when ſpeaking of them, frequently declared, that, bating their religion, he knew no other perſons worthy of reigning, and to whom he would chuſe to communicate his great deſigns. Proteſt of Henry IV fixed up at Rome. The pope's opinion of that prince and Elizabeth.

Mean-

A double civil war kindled by the bull.

Meantime that bull, of which patriotiſm and reaſon dictated the deſtruction, ſerved for food to the madneſs of the vulgar, and the rebellion of the factious. The king found himſelf obliged to perſecute the Calviniſts with greater rigour; and by an edict commanded them to abjure their religion, or quit France within fifteen days; while the king of Navarre publiſhed a ſevere counter proclamation againſt the Catholics. Thus Henry III. without money, without troops, and without power, had a double civil war to maintain, againſt the Catholic leaguers, and againſt the Proteſtants.

Let us turn our eyes for ſome time upon England, where the execution of Mary Stuart furniſhes us with a remarkable event; and, tracing the ſteps of Elizabeth's political conduct to that bloody tragedy, contemplate the mixture of grandeur and human weakneſs which were ſo ſingularly contraſted in the daughter of Henry VIII.

Political conduct of Elizabeth with regard to the queen of Scotland.

When Mary eſcaped from the impriſonment in which ſhe was held by her ſubjects, in 1568, and took refuge in the dominions of her rival, Elizabeth for ſome time wavered between the dictates of generoſity and intereſt; but at laſt thought only of dexterouſly turning the circumſtances to her own advantage. Under pretence that the rules of decency would not permit her to ſuccour, or even to ſee, that unfortunate princeſs, who was charged with the moſt atrocious crimes; ſhe perſuaded her to undergo a kind of trial, and chooſe her for umpire. The Scots ſending accuſers, and producing embarraſſing proofs, Mary repented of ſubmitting to a trial, and refuſed to comply. In vain did ſhe demand ſuccours, or liberty to paſs into France. Elizabeth kept her priſoner; and though this was infallibly expoſing herſelf to plots, yet ſhe thought theſe leſs dangerous than the liberty of a rival, who gave her ſo much uneaſineſs.

She keeps her priſoner.

Commotions in favour of Mary.

Never did the queen of Scotland appear more worthy of love and reſpect, than during her long captivity.

Misfortune

Misfortune gave additional luſtre to her perſonal charms, and vigour to her genius and magnanimity. The duke of Norfolk, the firſt peer in England, indulging his deſire of becoming her huſband, engaged in a conſpiracy, in order to compel Elizabeth to give her conſent, was accuſed of high treaſon, and executed. But the greateſt ſtorms were to be dreaded from the zeal of the Catholics; and the courts of Rome, Spain, and France, that is to ſay, the Guiſes, ſtrove to bring about a revolution.

The Catholics form plots, and are puniſhed for them.

Pius V. launched the thunders of the Vatican; and a fanatic fixed up his bull in London, from a perſuaſion that he ſhould be entitled to the palm of martyrdom (1571.) The king of Spain, in the name of Gregory XIII. ſent a body of troops into Ireland, a country yet full of barbariſm and ſuperſtition; but the Spaniards and rebels were put to the ſword (1580.) All theſe attempts brought rigorous treatment on the Catholics, whoſe continual plots in favour of Maty Stuart exaſperated Elizabeth; and the parliament baniſhed all the prieſts of that religion, particularly the Jeſuits, and the pupils of their ſeminaries, whoſe furious zeal did not even reſpect the crown. Thoſe who ſtayed in the kingdom, or returned, were puniſhed with death. The toleration, which till that time had been prudently obſerved, no longer ſubſiſted; and the *high commiſſion court*, then newly erected, appeared a copy of the Spaniſh inquiſition.

The doctrine of tyrannicide reduced to practice.

The doctrine of tyrannicide was then taught in the theological ſchools: princes who refuſed ſubmiſſion to the pope were repreſented as tyrants; and, by abominable prejudices, in defiance of the holy maxims of the Chriſtian religion, murder was made ſacred, and even its rage excited againſt crowned heads.

Parry forms a plot to murder the queen.

An Engliſh gentleman, William Parry, having imbibed that doctrine in Italy, reſolved to put it in practice; in which deſign he was encouraged by the court of Rome, and by ſtudying the works of an Engliſh theologiſt,

theologiſt, who was afterwards promoted to the purple; but being accuſed by one of his accomplices, he acknowledged his crime, and ſuffered death (1584.)

Ballard & Babington follow his ſteps.

Two years after, was framed a conſpiracy of the ſame kind, but more formidable. One Ballard, a prieſt, from the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims, which had been founded by the cardinal de Lorrain, inſtilled his fanaticiſm into Babington, a young gentleman of fortune, well educated, who had all the means of happineſs in his power; and this man gained other Catholics. It was agreed to murder the queen, to ſet Mary Stuart on the throne, and thus eſtabliſh a religion, for the ſake of which ſuch atrocious acts were deemed meritorious. Babington wrote to Mary, and received an anſwer filled with expreſſions of approbation and promiſes. But Walſingham, Elizabeth's miniſter, a man of equal vigilance and abilities, diſcovered the whole project, intercepted the letters, and cauſed the conſpirators to be ſeized, fourteen of whom were executed, and of theſe ſeven confeſſed the plot.

Trial of Mary Stuart.

Had Mary formed intrigues only for her own deliverance, nothing would have been more excuſable; had ſhe conſpired the death of her enemy Elizabeth, being queen of Scotland, ſhe was not amenable to a foreign tribunal for that criminal attempt; yet forty commiſſioners were appointed for her trial. She was interrogated in her priſon, and at firſt proteſted, that ſhe acknowledged no judge, eſpecially in a country where ſhe was refuſed the protection of the laws; but at laſt imprudently ſuffered herſelf to be prevailed on to reply. Her two ſecretaries, without being put to the torture, atteſted her receiving and anſwering Babington's letters, and their evidence was confirmed by his confeſſion. She denied the charge, and deſired to be brought face to face with the ſecretaries; but this was refuſed, as not ordered by the laws of England in caſes of high treaſon. At laſt the judges returned to London, where they pronounced ſentence of death.

Proofs on which ſhe was condemned.

On

On this occaſion, Elizabeth betrayed herſelf by her very diſſimulation. Though impatient to get rid of Mary, ſhe affected the greateſt concern for her fate, and aſſembled the parliament, that ſhe might ſeem to act only according to the will of the nation. The ſentence was confirmed by the parliament, and the court preſſed her to put it in execution; but the queen kept the public in ſuſpence. It ſeemed as if the courtiers and miniſters, with all their reaſons and remonſtrances, could not ſhake the generoſity of her ſoul. It required extraordinary motives to force from her an act of rigour, which ſhe wiſhed already executed. Accordingly ſhe took care to ſpread reports of invaſions and conſpiracies, calculated to inflame credulous minds. At laſt ſhe ſigned the fatal order; but, if ſhe might be believed, only with a deſign to make uſe of it in caſe of more preſſing neceſſity. However, the miniſters, divining her ſecret thoughts, haſtened to give her ſatisfaction. The queen of Scotland died on a ſcaffold, like a heroine and a Chriſtian. On the news of this execution, Elizabeth broke out into lamentations, was tranſported with rage, drove the miniſters from her preſence, and, in a word, carried her hypocriſy to the greateſt exceſs. Vain and odious artifice! Her own age and poſterity have, with one voice, condemned this action, which is the more crying, as it was not made neceſſary by any reaſon of ſtate.

1587. Hypocritical diſſimulation of Elizabeth.

Mary executed.

Elizabeth, by other parts of her conduct, drew upon herſelf univerſal admiration. After the refuſal of the king of France, the United Provinces had offered her the ſovereignty of their country in 1585; but the dread of incurring the reproach of uſurpation, or not being able to keep poſſeſſion of that principality, made her wiſely averſe from an attempt, which was too hazardous. She therefore contented herſelf with entering into a defenſive league with the riſing republic, to whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe ſent a body of troops, under the command of her favourite, the earl of Leiceſter. The Engliſh

Elizabeth ſupports the United Provinces.

The English become formidable at sea.

liſh privateers already bid defiance to the Spaniards, even in America. The famous Drake ſailed round the world, and returned loaded with booty. Being raiſed to the rank of admiral, he took St. Domingo, Carthagena, &c. The ſpirit for naval expeditions grew ſtronger every day; England felt the advantages it might reap from the ſea, and then laid the moſt ſolid foundations of its grandeur.

Sixtus V. gives England to Philip II.

Meantime the king of Spain was making vaſt preparations for the conqueſt of that kingdom, which Sixtus V. had beſtowed on him by bull, as a fief of the Holy See; and the audacious pontiff even had the inſolence to promiſe a reward to whoever ſhould deliver Elizabeth into his hands, that ſhe might be puniſhed by the Catholics for her crimes. This was not only inviting her to a vigorous defence, but to an irreconcilable war againſt the Holy See; but the armament of Philip II. ſeemed to ſecure the execution of the bull. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty large ſhips, mounting two thouſand ſix hundred great guns, having on board twenty thouſand land forces, and proviſions for ſix months. Alexander, duke of Parma, already celebrated for his great actions in the Low Countries, was to make a deſcent, in order to ſecond the *invincible armada*; a name given it by preſumptuous pride, but which it would have deſerved, if human ſtrength could be ſuperiour to the aſſaults of fortune. Here we have another important leſſon, proper for humbling the pride of princes.

Invincible *armada* fitted out to conquer it.

Prudence and courage diſplayed by the queen in her danger.

The Engliſh navy conſiſted of no more than twenty eight ſmall veſſels, when that dreadful ſtorm was ready to break upon the kingdom; but Elizabeth's courage and prudence ſupplied every defect. She rouſed the ſpirit of the nation, which eagerly raiſed ſupplies of men, money, and ſhipping. London, from which ſhe demanded fifteen veſſels, equipped thirty; even the Catholics, whom the pope hoped to raiſe in rebellion, for the moſt part ſhewed themſelves good ſubjects. A numerous army was got ready for the defence of the country.

try. The queen appeared on horſeback in the camp, and proteſted, that ſhe would die in the thickeſt of the battle, rather than ſee her people enſlaved.—*I have only the arm of a woman*, ſaid ſhe, *but I have the ſoul of a king, and what is more, of a king of England.* If a prince gains the affection and eſteem of his ſubjects, if he ſets the example, he makes them capable of the moſt heroic efforts. The Engliſh would have ſacrificed every thing for their queen, and to her perſon attached the ſafety of the ſtate.

1588. The Spaniſh armada almoſt deſtroyed.

Divers accidents likewiſe contributed to their triumph. The invincible armada, after ſetting ſail from Liſbon, was retarded by a ſtorm. The duke of Medina Sidonia, who, after the death of the brave marquis of Santa Cruz, was inveſted with the command, againſt his will, had no knowledge in naval affairs. Theſe enormous floating machines were ill managed, by raw, ignorant pilots and ſailors. The Engliſh, who were much more ſkilful ſeamen, turned even the ſmall ſize and lightneſs of their veſſels to advantage, and fought ſeveral times with ſucceſs. The duke of Parma, having no men of war, thought it imprudent to venture a deſcent. At laſt, the Spaniards, loſing all hopes of carrying their point, and returning by way of the Orkney iſlands, were overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, which completed the ruin of their fleet. Philip loſt more than one half of it, beſides twenty five thouſand men, and about a million and a half ſterling.

How this news was received in Spain.

He received the news of this dreadful diſaſter with an air of tranquillity.—*I had ſent my fleet*, ſaid he, *to fight againſt the Engliſh, not the elements. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* The Spaniſh prieſts, whoſe prophecies were confounded, attributed the misfortune to infidels being ſuffered to remain in the kingdom. They doubtleſs thought the inquiſition not ſufficiently bloody.

CHAP. VIII.

League of the Sixteen.—Aſſaſſination of the Guiſes.—Death of Sixtus V.

League of the ſixteen at Paris.

IN France, to which we are led back by the thread of events, fanaticiſm, rebellion, and anarchy, preſent us with the moſt diſmal ſpectacles. In the centre of Paris was formed the league of the *Sixteen*, which took its name from the ſixteen quarters of the city, and exceeded the grand league in fury. Its deſign was to dethrone the ſovereign, and beſtow the crown on the duke of Guiſe.

Henry III. obliged to make war againſt his heir.

Henry III. the contemptible ſport of factious men, was not only prevented from uniting with the king of Navarre, though their common intereſt required it, but was ſtill obliged to continue the war againſt him. Henry IV. who had already gained the reputation of a hero, ſignalized himſelf more than ever at the battle of Courtras in Guienne (1587,) where he defeated the duke de Joyeuſe. That favourite was ſlain in cold blood after the action. Civil and religious feuds multiplied atrocious acts in both parties. Never had ſo many crimes been committed in France, notwithſtanding the diſpoſition of the nation to all the ſocial virtues.

The duke of Guiſe triumphant.

A German army, which was coming to the aſſiſtance of the Calviniſts, being attacked and diſperſed by the duke of Guiſe, in the Gatinois and the country of Chartrain, he was extolled at Paris as the ſaviour of France; and in order to pave his way to the throne, it was cauſed to be decided in the Sorbonne—that *an incapable prince might be deprived of the government, in the ſame manner as a ſuſpicious guardian of his adminiſtration.*

Every

Every ſtep taken by the Lorrain princes foreboded the ruin of the king. An aſſembly, which they held at Nanci with the principal leaguers, addreſſed a memorial to him, wherein they prayed him to remove from his court the perſons whom they ſhould name; to put into the hands of the chiefs of the league, ſuch places as they ſhould point out; to cauſe the council of Trent to be received; to eſtabliſh the inquiſition in the principal cities, and to entruſt it rather to foreigners than Frenchmen, &c. This laſt article eſpecially ſtrikes horrour. Was one half of the nation to become the butchers of the other?

Seditious demands of the Lorrain princes.

Let us here obſerve, that the ordinance of Blois, in 1579, had already eſtabliſhed ſeveral points of diſcipline, conformable to the decrees of the council of Trent. It had fixed ſixteen years as the lawful age for taking the monaſtic vows, which had been prudently retarded by the ordinance of Orleans. But whether regulations were proper or not, all was equal, provided they could triumph over their adverſaries, even in things where theſe had reaſon plainly on their ſide.

Inquiſition and council of Trent.

The king, at laſt rouſed by indignation from his lethargy, prepared to puniſh the Sixteen, and forbid the duke of Guiſe from coming to Paris; notwithſtanding which he appeared in that city, and ſoon after the ſeditious took up arms, formed barricadoes, and ſurrounded the troops. Henry then fled; and Guiſe, being maſter of the capital, impoſed the terms of accommodation; for though the Pariſians gave ſigns of repentance, the king had not reſolution enough to chaſtiſe the rebels. By an edict of reunion, ſigned at Rouen, that unhappy prince ſwore never to make peace nor truce with the heretics, to exterminate hereſy, and preſcribed to his ſubjects an oath, not to receive for king, after his death, a heretic or favourer of heretics; which was depriving Henry IV. of the right of ſucceſſion.

Guiſe maſter of the capital.

Edict of reunion dictated to the king.

The ſtates general were afterwards aſſembled at Blois, where that edict, which had been extorted from the

They attempt to impoſe on him ſtill

severer ties.

ſovereign, was declared a fundamental law, and new demands were made, ſtill breathing the ſpirit of ſedition. He was preſſed to exclude by name the preſumptive heir from the crown, and required without delay to publiſh the council of Trent. In the diſputes raiſed on this ſubject, the archbiſhop of Lyons ſo far betrayed the liberties of the Gallican church, as to ſtyle them encroachments on the Holy See. The cardinal Gondi taxed with ignorance the defenders of thoſe liberties, though they are only a remain of the common right of churches; and to ſuch a pitch did the blindneſs of men riſe, that they were even deſirous of violating the national laws, in order to crouch in ſervitude to the Romiſh court!

He cauſes the duke and the cardinal de Guiſe to be aſſaſſinated.

At laſt, the duke of Savoy having ſeized the marquiſate of Saluzzo, under pretence of oppoſing a barrier to hereſy; the duke of Guiſe being ſuſpected of holding intelligence with him, and having but one ſtep more to dethrone a phantom king; Henry, having no reſource in the laws, thought he could preſerve himſelf by an act of violence, and cauſed the duke and the cardinal de Guiſe to be aſſaſſinated. That prelate, as violent as the duke was circumſpect, had often talked of giving the king a capuchin's crown. Their brother, the duke of Mayenne, who was then at Lyons, was left at liberty; but the cardinal de Bourbon was arreſted.

1589. He again ſinks into weakneſs.

After this humbling ſtroke, the king ought to have taken advantage of the conſternation of the factious, made himſelf maſter of Paris, cruſhed the Sixteen, and vigorouſly exerted an authority, which had been long trampled on; but he did nothing of all this, gave no order, took no precaution, and contented himſelf with publiſhing manifeſtos in his own excuſe.

Death of Catharine Medici.

About that time died his mother, the famous Catharine Medici, who had been long neglected, after having kindled ſo many diſcords and wars by the moſt violent and unprincipled ambition that ever inflamed a human heart. The misfortunes of the ſovereign and the ſtate

were

were a dreadful refutation of her maxim—*Divide and govern.* On her death bed ſhe adviſed the king to be reconciled to Henry IV. and to leave conſciences at liberty. This was at leaſt once in her life giving an advice agreeable to the public good.

Fanaticiſm of the Sixteen.

The fanaticiſm of the leaguers had already broken all bounds. That worthleſs faction of the Sixteen, compoſed of a few prieſts, and for the moſt part an inſenſate mob, being enraged at the murder of the Guiſes, put the capital in combuſtion, and their fury was but too much favoured by the blind prejudices which prevailed among the generality of the clergy and monks. Violent preachers, and confeſſors ſtill more to be dreaded, every where made rebellion a ſacred duty; and the Sorbonne authorized it by a decree, which it was attempted to make the parliament ſubſcribe.

The parliament impriſoned.

On their refuſal, an attorney, named Buſſi le Clerc, whom the duke of Guiſe had appointed governour of the Baſtile, impriſoned the illuſtrious Achilles de Harlai, the firſt preſident, and the other magiſtrates followed their chief; after which, a new parliament, created by the Sixteen, uſurped the temple of juſtice, and confirmed the league in its full extent, with the addition of an oath to revenge the death of the Guiſes againſt the authors and accomplices of the murder.

Reconciliation of the two kings.

What Henry III. ought to have done at the beginning of the troubles, he at laſt determined on when reduced to extremity, and reconciled himſelf to the king of Navarre, who, notwithſtanding ſo many reaſons for diſtruſt, had the reſolution to join him.

Monitory of Sixtus V.

Then appeared a monitory of Sixtus V. ordering the king of France to appear before him in perſon or by proxy, within ſixty days, to clear himſelf from the murder of the cardinal de Guiſe, and declaring him excommunicated, in virtue of the bull *In cœna Domini*, if he did not inform the Holy See of his obedience. The monarch had ſolicited abſolution at Rome, and, ſtruck with this new thunderbolt, trembled according to cuſtom.—*Let us conquer*, ſaid

ſaid Henry IV. *and we ſhall be abſolved; but if we be beaten, we ſhall be excommunicated.*

It is publiſhed in ſome towns.

It is certain, that the court of Rome wanted to take its meaſures according to the event; and ſtill more unqueſtionable, that a man muſt have been a leaguer, or ſomething like it, not to reject ſo odious a ſummons; yet the monitory was publiſhed at Meaux, and in like manner at Chartres, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhop, who uſed frequently to ſay—*The cenſures of the pope have no force on this ſide the mountains, and are frozen in their paſſage over the Alps.* (Vid. the Tranſlation of De Thou's Reſtitutions and Corrections, lib. 95.)

Siege of Paris. The king aſſaſſinated by James Clement.

The two kings beſieged Paris, and encamped at St. Cloud, where Henry III. was ſtabbed by James Clement, a young Dominican prieſt, whom the preachers, the caſuiſts, and his prior, had impelled to the crime, by ſhewing him heaven as the reward of the regicide. This traitor had cauſed himſelf to be introduced, under pretence of being entruſted with important commiſſions, and died upon the ſpot, pierced with a multitude of wounds, by which means he eſcaped torture, and even examination. He was canonized by the fanatics in Paris, who extolled him above Judith, and placed his image on the altars. Sixtus V. expreſſed the higheſt admiration of this daring act of Clement, which he did not bluſh to compare to the incarnation of the Word, and the reſurrection of the Saviour—"It "is inconceivable, (ſays the judicious De Thou) that "he could expreſs himſelf in terms ſo indecent and un-"worthy of the common father of the faithful." But if he did it, every thing may be accounted for by the general ſpirit of infatuation.

Death of Sixtus V.

Particulars of that pontificate.

This pontiff, who was one of the moſt extraordinary men of his time, died the year following, 1590, at the age of ſixty nine. By a rigorous execution of juſtice, he cleared the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from thoſe ſwarms of robbers, with which it was infeſted by the fault of the government;

government; and by prudent economy was enabled to adorn Rome with obeliſks and fountains of equal utility and magnificence; to build a palace and the Vatican library; to procure for the people continual plenty; to enrich his family without raiſing clamours; and to leave at his death above five millions of gold. He projected the conqueſt of Naples.—*Indeed, a compliment and a pad are too ſmall a price for a kingdom*, ſaid he, upon receiving the uſual homage from Philip II. It is manifeſt, that he was not a dupe to the bigoted zeal of that prince.

His deſign againſt Naples.

He entertained the utmoſt contempt for Henry III. and is reported by Naudé to have one day ſaid—*I have done every thing in my power to riſe above the condition of a monk, and he does every thing he can to fall into it.* (Science of Princes.) The encomiums he beſtowed on Henry IV, and Elizabeth are proofs, that if he abuſed the papal power in derogation to the rights of crowned heads, he had the ſoul and genius of a man formed for reigning. Perhaps he would have ruled with greater glory over a ſecular than the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

His contempt for Henry III.

According to Leti, Elizabeth, with whom he ſecretly negotiated for the conqueſt of Naples, ſpoke of him in theſe terms:—*He is not a pope prieſt, but a pope king.* Unluckily, he on occaſion followed too cloſely the maxims of the prieſts of his time. Yet he did not love the Jeſuits, though they were ſo zealous ſupporters of the opinions and intereſts of Rome, and ordered them to quit England.

Saying of Elizabeth with regard to that pope.

Urban VII. his ſucceſſor, ſcarce enjoyed the tiara. Gregory XIV. a native of Milan, who by birth and principle was attached to the Spaniſh court, ſignalized his zeal for the league, as we ſhall ſee under the epocha of a reign which will be forever memorable.

Urban VII. and Gregory XIV.

TWELFTH

TWELFTH EPOCHA.

HENRY IV.—*The Misfortunes of* FRANCE *repaired by a good* KING.

[From the Year 1589, to the Miniſtry of Cardinal Richilieu, in 1624.]

CHAP. I.

War between Henry IV. *and the Leaguers.—He abjures Calviniſm, and the League is weakened.*

Right of Henry IV. to the crown.

THREE ſons of Henry II. having reigned in ſucceſſion, and left no children, the branch of Valois was extinct; and Henry de Bourbon, king of Navarre, a deſcendant of St. Louis, was the late king's couſin only in the two and twentieth degree; yet the crown belonged to him, as being firſt prince of the blood. Providence ſeemed to have diſpoſed the events, and to have formed the heart and underſtanding of this prince, to make him a model for the kings of France. His faults, which we ſhall not diſſemble, were thoſe of a feeling and elevated ſoul.

His excellent qualities.

Heroic valour, wonderful ſagacity, generous beneficence, love of glory and his country, frankneſs, rectitude, economy, a talent for buſineſs, a habit of application, an amiable and noble ſincerity, all naturally contributed to ſecure the voluntary homage of a people who were bound to obey him by his birthright. But

Obſtacles in his religion.

his religion, which was Calviniſtical, though without bigotry, ſullied his excellent qualities in the eyes of the majority of the nation, and carried them ſo far as even to violate on his account a fundamental law, which

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would have been reſpected in favour of a child, an ideot, or even a wicked prince, if fanaticiſm had not thrown the French into a delirium.

1589. The duke of Mayenne head of the league.

The duke of Mayenne, head of the league, after the death of his brothers, though poſſeſſed neither of their activity nor boldneſs, might have taken the title of king; but he choſe rather to confer it on the old cardinal de Bourbon, who was ſtill a priſoner. Henry IV. being abandoned by the greater part, and his forces reduced to ſix thouſand men from thirty thouſand, with whom he had begun the ſiege of Paris, retired towards Dieppe; when the duke of Mayenne purſued him with an army of three or four times his numbers, and loſt the battle of Arques. Next year the conqueror gained a complete victory at Ivri. It was on this occaſion that he made the following noble ſpeech to his ſoldiers before the battle:—*My children, if you loſe ſight of the colours, rally to my white plume; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory. God is for us.* In fact, he ſet an example of courage, by facing a thouſand dangers; and of humanity, by crying out, when his troops were purſuing the fugitives—*Spare the French.* Yet Frenchmen could be his enemies!

Battles of Arques & Ivri.

1590. Blockade of Paris.

Paris was ſoon after blockaded; where the hatred of the leaguers diſplayed itſelf with more violence, in proportion as the king ſhewed himſelf more worthy of affection. The cardinal de Bourbon being lately dead, the Sorbonne decided (for at that time the theologians decided every thing) that Henry, being a relapſed and excommunicated heretic, could not be acknowledged —*even though he ſhould be abſolved from the cenſures.* The parliament, deprived of its moſt worthy members, approved this ſhameful decree, and prohibited all propoſals of accommodation with Henry, under pain of death. A regiment of prieſts and monks, armed with cuiraſſes and muſkets, patroled the ſtreets, in order to animate the populace, who were already tranſported with frenzy. In the mean time, the famine became inſupportable; and

Violent conduct of the Sorbonne, parliament, &c.

and bread was made of human bones ground to powder. But the wretched enthuſiaſts were encouraged by the palm of martyrdom held forth to them by the Sorbonne; while the monks, who preached it up, felt very little of the ſcarcity. The convents were ſearched, and a quantity of proviſions found, which afforded a ſmall relief to the miſery of the ſtarving multitude.

Exceſſive lenity of the king to the Pariſians.

Had not Henry been moved with pity for thoſe madmen, he would infallibly have taken the capital, where two hundred thouſand men were pining with want. But—*I had rather loſe Paris*, ſaid he, *than get poſſeſſion of it when entirely ruined by the death of ſo many perſons.* He gave the uſeleſs mouths a free paſſage, and permitted his officers and ſoldiers to ſend in refreſhments to their friends. By this paternal kindneſs, which the rigours of war do not permit in ſuch circumſtances, he loſt the fruit of his labours, and prolongd the civil war.

Alexander Farneſe delivers Paris.

Philip II. had a view to the crown of France, and therefore protected the league; but ſent it only ſmall ſuccours, that he might keep it in a ſtate of ſubſervience to his deſigns. Being now apprehenſive that the taking of Paris would draw on the ſubmiſſion of the whole kingdom, he ordered the duke of Parma to march to its relief; upon which that great general quitted the Low Countries, where young Maurice, ſon and ſucceſſor to that prince of Orange who had been aſſaſſinated, ſupported the Dutch republic by extraordinary efforts; and, at his approach, Henry raiſed the ſiege, to offer him battle. But Paris being relieved, which was all that Farneſe wiſhed, that general prudently avoided coming to an engagement, and returned to the preſſing affairs of his government in the Low Countries. The

Woful ſituation of Henry.

ſituation of the king was truly deplorable; he was without money, and his troops were diſpirited, and ready to quit his ſtandards. One day he was even obliged to take a dinner with his ſuprintendant, Francis d'O, who thought more of his own advantage than the neceſſities of the ſovereign.

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This disaster was followed by other misfortunes. The duke of Savoy, not content with the marquisate of Saluzzo, wanted to seize Dauphinè and Provence; the former of which was saved by Leodiguieres, an able general. But Provence received the duke with transports of joy; and the parliament of Aix, in a fit of delirium, which was but too common, named him *lieutenant general under the crown of France*. Invasion of the duke of Savoy.

Gregory XIV. on his side ordered all persons, under pain of excommunication, to quit the party of a prince, who was—*a heretic, and deprived of all his dominions*. He did more; he sent troops and money to the leaguers. Money sent from Rome to France! It was not the least extraordinary phenomenon of that time. Philip already imagined that he was sure of the crown, either for himself or his daughter; and if the Sixteen had been endowed with as much prudence as boldness, he would perhaps have obtained it, at least for a time, until the nation felt all the disgrace of submitting to a foreign yoke. 1591. Gregory XIV. supports the leaguers.

These hot headed rebels, breaking through all restraint, and pretending to give law to the duke of Mayenne as well as the others, dug a pit for themselves, even by their excesses. The parliament not having passed sentence of death on a man whom they wanted to destroy, they caused three magistrates to be hanged, and among the rest, Brisson, who exercised the office of first president. Mayenne, irritated by these proceedings, came to Paris, took his measures with secrecy and prudence, delivered up some of the most violent to the executioner, drove Bussi le Clerc out of the Bastile, and thus put an end to a detestable faction, which derived its whole strength from the madness of fanaticism. The Sixteen draw chastisement upon themselves by their crimes.

Still the king's affairs were in no better situation. Some succours from England and Germany put him in a condition to besiege Rouen; but he met with an obstinate resistance; and, when he hoped to triumph over it, had the mortification of seeing his prey again snatch- Henry besieges Rouen.

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The duke of Parma obliges him to raiſe the ſiege.

ed from him by the duke of Parma. He raiſed the ſiege, burning with deſire to revenge himſelf by a battle; but Farneſe, purſued and hard preſſed in Normandy, eſcaped him by paſſing the Seine in the night, on a bridge of boats; a retreat which was the more glorious, as Henry believed it to be impoſſible. That great general died ſoon after in Flanders, at the age of forty ſeven. The luſtre of his military talents was heightened by his virtues; and no man would have been more proper to bring back the United Provinces to the Spaniſh yoke, had it been poſſible to find a remedy for the evils cauſed by deſpotiſm and perſecution.

Death of that great general.

The duke of Savoy ſoon loſt Provence; and Leodiguieres diſperſed the pope's troops without the inveteracy of the leaguers ſeeming to be weakened. The following fact will throw additional light upon the folly of the age. The count de Bouchage, brother of the duke de Joyeuſe, had turned Capuchin in 1587, but was obliged, under pain of committing a mortal ſin, to quit the monaſtic habit, in order to put himſelf at the head of the army. His vocation to enter into the order of Capuchins (whoſe habit he afterwards reſumed) plainly proves that he was not an Alexander Farneſe; but it was doubtleſs proper to inſpire the leaguers with confidence and enthuſiaſm.

Bouchage twice a Capuchin.

1593. The court of Rome and Philip II. endeavour to procure the election of a king of France.

This party ſtill took the impreſſion of the court of Rome; and Clement VIII. (Aldobrandin) following the ſteps of Gregory XIV. kept a legate at Paris, who directed its motions. The French were exhorted by a bull to elect a king, and Mayenne aſſembled the ſtates general. In this aſſembly, where the leaguers imagined themſelves the repreſentatives of the nation, the legate required an oath never to receive Henry, even though he ſhould abjure hereſy; which we have already ſeen was preſcribed by the Sorbonne as a duty. The duke of Feria, ambaſſadour of Philip II. demanded the throne for the infanta of Spain, on condition that ſhe married the young duke of Guiſe. The laws of the

kingdom

kingdom were trampled under foot, and it was on the point of being given to a foreign maſter. Happily the parliament, rouſing from its ſhameful lethargy, paſſed an arret conformable to the Salic law, which no pretext of religion could ſuperſede; and the more theſe magiſtrates had wandered from their duty, the more did this arret confound the ſeditious.

Henry complains that his converſion was hindered.

But if Henry perſiſted in his religion, his rights and his efforts met with inſurmountable obſtacles; of which he was ſenſible, and had repeatedly declared that he was ſincerely deſirous of being inſtructed; that he was ready to embrace the truth, as ſoon as he was convinced of his errour; and that the irreconcilable war carried on againſt him, was the ſole reaſon why he did not employ all his thoughts on that important object. Nothing could be more juſt than his complaints. The legate, the Spaniards, and enthuſiaſts, had carried their obſtinacy to ſuch a height, as to reject a project for a conference between the two parties. However, theſe conferences were held at Surene, but without producing any effect.

He determines at once, and abjures Calviniſm.

The Catholics of the king's party began to complain of his perſeverance in Calviniſm, and the moderate men of that perſuaſion repreſented to him the neceſſity of a change; telling him that the *cannon* of the maſs was neceſſary to make him triumph over the rebels. Even ſome of the reformed miniſters ſoftened the difficulties, by acknowledging that ſalvation was poſſible in the Roman church. At laſt he conferred one or two days with ſome biſhops, took his reſolution, and performed the ceremony of abjuration at St. Denys, in preſence of a multitude of the Pariſians; the people flocking to that ceremony, though the legate, to crown the unjuſt conduct of the Romiſh court, had prohibited all men from aſſiſting at it, under pain of excommunication.

Yet he is ſtill perſecuted by fanatiſm.

Though it can ſcarcely be doubted that political motives had a ſhare in the monarch's converſion, yet perhaps it was one of the moſt beneficial ſteps for the kingdom

dom that ever was taken. What hope was there of otherwiſe putting an end to the civil war, when ſome unbridled leaguers embraced that occaſion to redouble their efforts? A pariſh prieſt of Paris preached nine ſermons againſt the abſolution given to the king by the archbiſhop of Bourges. A Savoyard Cordelier, treating of the ſame ſubject, exhorted his hearers to pray to God, that the pope might not lend an ear to the inſtances of the *Man of Bearn*, and might refuſe to abſolve him. A preaching biſhop of Senlis promiſed in the pulpit to prove that the Man of Bearn was a baſtard, and unworthy of the crown. A waterman, named Barriere, was convicted of a deſign to aſſaſſinate that prince, and named four prieſts or monks who inſtigated him to the crime.

1594. Crime of John Chatel.

Henry had been received into the capital in 1594, and, while he was there giving remarkable proofs of his beneficence and zeal for the public good, was wounded in the throat with a knife by a young fanatic, named John Chatel. When the aſſaſſin was interrogated, he alledged the doctrine of tyrannicide, which he had learned among his maſters the Jeſuits, and had heard preached elſewhere. The Jeſuits and Capuchins were the only perſons who from the beginning perſiſted obſtinately in the revolt till the pope ſhould give judgment; and this was an additional motive for believing them more dangerous. They were therefore baniſhed by the parliament, which likewiſe cauſed their librarian Guignard to be hanged; ſome libels againſt the king being found in his own hand writing among his papers. This ſociety, which was an object of hatred, not only to the religioniſts, but to a great number of Catholics, already felt by daily experience how difficult it was to conciliate a regard for their country with the ſpirit of their order.

Baniſhment of the Jeſuits.

Let us here remark, both for the honour of letters, and for the ſake of general utility, that the decay of the league is in a great meaſure aſcribed to ſome ingenious

Reaſon & ridicule ſucceſsfully em-

writings,

writings, particularly the *Menippean Satire*. Reaſon and ridicule unmaſked its abſurd ſuperſtition and deteſtable policy. Ridicule pierces, reaſon enlightens: ſooner or later, they triumph over every obſtacle; and, by their help, an infinite number of abuſes have inſenſibly vaniſhed. The perſons whoſe intereſt it was to maintain them, or imagined it their duty to ſtand forth in their defence, in vain endeavoured to tie up the hands of the authors, and ſhut the eyes of the readers. Unleſs they deſtroyed all taſte for reading, their oppoſition could only augment the liberty of the one, and the curioſity of the other. The greateſt part of the works, whoſe utility is at preſent acknowledged, and whoſe maxims have been adopted by governments, at firſt met with the moſt diſgraceful condemnation. How important is it then to favour the noble and ſpirited deſire to inſtruct mankind, at the ſame time that it is of the greateſt moment to repreſs the criminal madneſs of corrupting them!

ployed againſt the league.

CHAP. II.

Abſolution of the King at Rome.—Treaty of Vervins.—Death of Philip II.—State of Spain and the Empire.

THE king had now been a Catholic two years, and during that whole time had ſolicited an abſolution from the pope, without which it was impoſſible for an excommunicated ſovereign to diſarm fanaticiſm. But the pretenſions of Rome, and the politics of Spain, threw a thouſand obſtacles in the way of a buſineſs, of itſelf ſo eaſy to be diſpatched. The French ambaſſadours, Du Perron and D'Oſſat (afterwards cardinals) were obliged to employ the greateſt dexterity, in order to ſecure the honour and rights of the crown, which the papal

1595. Henry IV. at laſt abſolved by Clement VIII.

papal court wanted to make appear as their gift. Clement VIII. whoſe refuſal in any other circumſtances would have been fatal to the Holy See, at laſt contented himſelf with impoſing leſs odious conditions. One of the principal was, the publication of the council of Trent, and the obſervation of its decrees; except thoſe articles which might diſturb the public peace, *if any ſuch there were.* It is a remarkable circumſtance, that Henry IV. was obliged, by way of penance, to ſay the Chaplet every day, the Litanies every Wedneſday, the Roſary every Saturday, &c. During the ceremony of the abſolution, the ambaſſadours knelt, and, according to the cuſtom, at the end of every verſe of the *Miſerere*, received a ſtroke of a ſcourge from the hand of the pope. This is an allegorical imitation of the manner in which the Romans enfranchiſed their ſlaves.

On what conditions.

Doubtleſs theſe humiliating ceremonies appeared abſolutely neceſſary, as the king expreſſed great ſatisfaction. The leaguers having now no pretext for their rebellion, the league neceſſarily was diſſolved. But the duke of Mayenne, being ſupported by Philip II. ſtill held out, that he might obtain advantageous terms; in conſequence of which, war was declared againſt Spain, though the nation was little capable of carrying it on. Henry marched againſt Mayenne, who was in his government of Burgundy; met and defeated a Spaniſh army, at Fontaine Françoiſe, where, with a handful of troops, he faced a thouſand dangers. This temerity had more than once ſucceeded with him; yet it was juſtly blamed by the beſt officers, becauſe its conſequences might be dreadful. Mayenne ſubmitted in 1596; he obtained three fortreſſes for his ſecurity; and the generous monarch ſhewed himſelf rather his friend than his conqueror. But the duke de Mercœur, another prince of the Lorrain family, and governor of Bretagne, perſiſted in his rebellion till 1598.

The chiefs of the league ſubjected, after new efforts.

All the chiefs of the league exacted high prices for their ſubmiſſion: but the civil wars had ſo ruined the

Henry faithful to all his promiſes.

kingdom

kingdom, that the reſtoration of tranquillity could not be too dearly purchaſed; and the king faithfully performed whatever he promiſed, even when his authority was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he ſeemed in a condition to break his word with ſafety: an example of probity which was the more worthy of admiration, as, at the ſame time that he diſcharged obligations of ſo burdenſome a nature, he found means to relieve his people, and make his kingdom flouriſh.

Events of the war with Spain.

We ſhall take a rapid ſketch of the events of the war, that we may at our leiſure contemplate the public happineſs. Calais was taken for the Spaniards, by a French officer in their ſervice; and that conqueſt was followed by the ſurpriſal of Amiens, through the fault of the citizens, who had taken the defence of it upon themſelves. But Henry, having with difficulty found means to pay a body of troops, heroically recovered that place; reduced Bretagne to obedience, obliged the duke de Mercœur to ſubmit, and ſoon calmed the apprehenſions which had filled the hearts of all good Frenchmen.

Submiſſion of Mercœur.

1598. The king made uneaſy by the Calviniſts.

The Proteſtants at that time gave him almoſt as much uneaſineſs as the enemy. Though he had granted them liberty of conſcience, which, even by the prudent part of the Catholics, was deemed a neceſſary meaſure; yet, either from vexation for his having abjured their religion, the violence of party zeal, or diſcontent for being out of favour, they wearied him with ſeditious demands, and even gave cauſe to apprehend a rebellion. While on the road to Bretagne, he thought it requiſite to ſatisfy them, in order to avoid greater evils; and this produced the famous edict of Nantz; which, beſides the public exerciſe of their religion in ſeveral towns, capacitated them for holding offices, put them in poſſeſſion of ſome places, as pledges of their ſecurity, for eight years, and eſtabliſhed ſalaries for their miniſters. The clamours of the clergy, doctors, and preachers, were to no purpoſe; and the reſiſtance of the parliament yielded to the reaſons of the prince, who con-

Edict of Nantz.

vinced the magiſtrates, that the peace of the ſtate conſtituted the proſperity of the church; and that the grand object of government ought to be to inſpire all, whether Catholics or not, with the principles of love to their country, which are by no means incompatible with the difference of worſhip.

Philip II. tired of a ruinous war.

Meantime the king of Spain, weighed down with age and infirmities, grew weary of a war, which ſwallowed up immenſe treaſures. Elizabeth, though diſpleaſed with Henry's converſion, continued her aſſiſtance to him, and to the United Provinces; and the Engliſh navy became every day more formidable. The admiral Effingham, accompanied by the earl of Eſſex, a new favourite of the queen, attacked and defeated the Spaniards, even in the road of Cadiz; the city was pillaged; and the loſs of the enemy was eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats. The ambitious Philip reaped no advantage from the troubles with which he had filled Europe, and had loſt all hopes of obtaining the crown of France, either for himſelf or his daughter; the pope exhorted the Proteſtants to lay down their arms, and the negotiations were opened.

Henry treats ſeparately.

The court of Spain refuſing to acknowledge the republic of Holland, and Elizabeth to abandon their cauſe, Henry was compelled by neceſſity to treat ſeparately. He laid his reaſons before the allies, without diſſimulation or artifice; and, determined by the exigences of the ſtate, concluded the advantageous treaty of Vervins, which put him in poſſeſſion of all the conqueſts made by the Spaniards in Picardy.

Peace of Vervins.

Death of Philip II. His character.

Philip II. died ſoon after, at the age of ſeventy two. Gloomy, jealous, diſtruſtful, revengeful, diſſembling, ſuſpicious, cruel, mingling hypocriſy with zeal, and malice with ambition; if he had vaſt political ſkill, an unwearied application to buſineſs, profound knowledge of mankind, prodigious power and riches, he certainly was deſtitute of what makes the true merit of a king. In fact, his reign (and it laſted forty two years) was productive

ductive of numberleſs calamities, which were felt by his own ſubjects, in common with other nations. He was a ſavage and implacable tyrant, who wanted to rule by terrour. The grandees of his court, and his miniſters, were only ſlaves at his feet. One day, the duke of Alva having ventured to enter his cloſet without ſending in his name—*What inſolence!* cried he, with a furious look; *you deſerve the axe!*

His tyranny.

That we may judge of this monarch's falſe politics, let us take a view of his enterpriſes, his means, and his ſucceſſes. He attempted to enſlave the Low Countries, to cruſh England, ſubdue France, and force the ſectaries to ſubmit to the ancient religion; and to ſucceed in theſe projects, by his own acknowledgment, expended five hundred and ſixty four millions of ducats. Yet Holland eſtabliſhed her republic, in defiance of the efforts of his deſpotiſm; England triumphed over his armaments, and gave him dangerous blows; and France, notwithſtanding the wars and diſſenſions he had kindled in it, again united under the lawful ſovereign. It is true, the inquiſition has preſerved the Catholic religion in Spain; but this it has effected by burning the ſubjects, depopulating the kingdom, putting fetters upon reaſon and genius; and by diſtruſt, dread, bigotry, ſuperſtition, and the ruin of the ſocial virtues, bringing unhappineſs upon a people capable of meriting the higheſt encomiums.

His vaſt enterpriſes unſucceſsful.

This kingdom, though nature has been laviſh to it of her favours, fell into a ſtate of langour, which, after a little reflection, cannot be ſurpriſing. At firſt view, the conqueſt of America ſeems to open to it an inexhauſtible ſource of proſperity; but this notion is falſe. The avarice of the Spaniards being attracted by the treaſures of the new world, they deſerted their country, neglected agriculture, abandoned their manufactures, and forgot that the productions of the earth, and the fruits of a laborious induſtry, are the only real riches. They were plunged into the gulph of luxury and effe-

The reaſon why the treaſures of America ruined Spain.

minacy by a tranſitory opulence. The manners were corrupted, and the love of labour was extinguiſhed by a pride frequently ridiculous. What was the conſequence?—In proportion as gold and ſilver became common, grain and manufactures increaſed in price. They were obliged to ſeek elſewhere for the neceſſaries which they could not find at home, to purchaſe them of foreigners, and to pay the price which the ſellers were pleaſed to impoſe. Thoſe riches flowed out of the ſtate in rapid ſtreams, leaving behind them only vices, barrenneſs, and beggary. Philip II. whom they at firſt enabled to make the greateſt attempts, found himſelf reduced to a ſtate of inſolvency.

It ſenſibly declines under Philip III.

The Spaniſh monarchy continued to decline under his ſon Philip III. a prince incapable of governing. The favourites reigned in his ſtead. The duke of Lerma, who was prime miniſter, being himſelf unable to ſupport the weight of government, threw it upon Calderona, a man who had riſen from the loweſt rank. The clergy, who had already too much power, acquired more; almoſt every department of government was managed on falſe principles, and Spain made but one ſtep from the height of grandeur to decay. The fortune of empires may be compared to that of individuals: After riſing to a certain pitch, it verges to its ruin, unleſs its foundations be cemented by prudence; but it is difficult to couple prudence with fortune.

The imperial branch languiſhing under Rodolphus II.

It was a happineſs, if not for Germany, at leaſt for the reſt of Europe, that the imperial branch of Auſtria had been in a languiſhing ſtate for a number of years; the whole thoughts of the emperour Rodolphus II. were turned upon aſtronomy, chemiſtry, experimental philoſophy, and horſes, while the politics of Philip II. were ſetting the world in a flame. Accordingly, the empire furniſhes few remarkable events. Only ſome diſturbances were raiſed by the rivalſhip of the two religions.

Gebhard, elector of Cologne,

Gebhard, elector of Cologne, having embraced Calviniſm, and married, in 1583, the chapter and city revolted

ed againſt him; he was excommunicated and depoſed by Gregory XIII. and the Proteſtants lending him no aſſiſtance, becauſe he had embraced the Calviniſt, not the Lutheran religion, he was defeated, forſaken, and retired to Straſburg, where he ended his days. turns Calviniſt, & is depoſed.

An emperour, who had been attentive to the affairs of Italy, would not perhaps have ſuffered the territory of Ferrara to be again united to the eccleſiaſtical dominions. After the death of Alphonſo II. duke of Ferrara and Modena, Cæſar d'Eſte, his couſin german, was his lawful heir; but Clement VIII. ſeized the territory of Ferrara and Comacchio, under pretence that Cæſar's mother being only the daughter of a citizen, he ought to be looked upon as illegitimate; and that prince being too weak to reſiſt, the pope came to an accommodation, and renounced that dutchy, contenting himſelf with Modena, Carpi, and Regio, the inveſtiture of which was given him by Rodolphus in 1598. Clement VIII. ſeizes Ferrara and Comacchio.

CHAP. III.

France begins to proſper.—End of Elizabeth's Reign.—Her wiſe Government.

HOWEVER capable Henry was of ſeeing what was right, and governing properly by himſelf, yet he ſtood in need of a virtuous friend and able miniſter, to execute the great deſigns which his zeal for the proſperity of the nation had prompted him to form. Both theſe he had found in the celebrated duke of Sulli (then marquis of Roſny) a man of extraordinary parts, and of a ſoul ſtill ſuperiour to his genius; accuſtomed almoſt from his infancy to every ſpecies of heroiſm; and who, being charged with the adminiſtration in 1596, ſoon ſhewed himſelf a conſummate miniſter. Sulli, a miniſter worthy of Henry IV.

We

We ſhall elſewhere give an account of his labours in regulating the finances, and the ſucceſs with which he healed the wounds of the ſtate. Perhaps, he as much deſerves to be admired for his conduct in quality of the king's friend, as in that of miniſter.

The king's amours.

Henry, too ſenſible to the allurements of pleaſure, was capable of forgetting his duty in the lap of love; and the beautiful Gabrielle d'Eſtrées became ſo abſolute miſtreſs of his heart, that he thought of marrying her, being in hopes of obtaining permiſſion from Rome to divorce the queen Margaret de Valois, from whom he had long lived in a ſtate of ſeparation. Gabrielle dying, ſhe was ſucceeded by another miſtreſs, Henrietta d'Entragues, a woman of an artful, intriguing, and ambitious ſpirit, who inflamed his deſires by refuſals until ſhe obtained a promiſe of marriage. This promiſe the king ſhewed to Sulli, ready ſigned; and the miniſter, tranſported with indignation, tore it in pieces.—*I believe you are mad!* cried Henry in a rage.—*It is true, I am mad*, replied Sulli; *and I wiſh I was the only madman in France.* When, after ſo keen an altercation, he thought himſelf irrecoverably diſgraced, he received the brevet of grand maſter of the ordnance! Happy is the prince who can procure ſuch a friend! If he ſometimes deviates from the right path, at leaſt the truth enlightens him, and brings him back. The ſentence of divorce, which the king ſolicited, was granted; and he married Mary Medici, who bore him Louis XIII. in 1601; but in other reſpects the match was unfortunate.

The miniſter runs the hazard of being diſgraced by an act of zeal.

1600. War and peace with the duke of Savoy, who had uſurped Saluzzo.

It was time to puniſh the duke of Savoy for his uſurpations. Henry preſſed him to reſtore the marquiſate of Saluzzo; and the duke came to Paris to negotiate, or rather to intrigue, to deceive, and to ſtir up cabals. He promiſed, and failed in his word; and war being declared againſt him, he loſt Savoy and Breſſe in three months, principally by the indefatigable vigilance of Sulli. Peace was afterwards concluded, and he ceded

Breſſe

Breſſe and Bugei for the marquiſate of Saluzzo. Some people blamed this treaty; but the king, being leſs ambitious of conqueſts than of what tended to the real good of the ſtate, had no need of a paſſage into Italy, and peace was abſolutely neceſſary for the execution of his deſigns.

Mareſchal Biron, an obſtinate criminal, puniſhed.

Beſides, the duke had left the ſeeds of rebellion in the kingdom, and even ſeduced the mareſchal de Biron, who would have acquired the greateſt eſteem by his own ſervices, and thoſe of his father, had not his merit been obliterated by his haughtineſs and inſolent pretenſions. This lord had entered into a treaty with the duke of Savoy and the court of Spain; yet the king, who had unqueſtionable proofs of his crime, offered him a pardon only on condition of confeſſing his guilt; but Biron, refuſing to make any acknowledgment, or ſhew the leaſt ſigns of repentance, was at laſt delivered up to juſtice, it being abſolutely neceſſary to make him an example. The criminal, who was condemned to loſe his head, at his execution was filled with agonies that ſeemed to deprive him of his ſenſes, though he had often defied death in battles. So far does bravery in the field fall ſhort of that firmneſs of ſoul, without which there can be no true heroiſm.

Diſgrace and death of the earl of Eſſex, favourite of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth had juſt before met with a more piercing vexation of the ſame kind. Her favourite, the earl of Eſſex, wanted to be employed in the reduction of the Iriſh, a people equally ſavage and fanatical, who were ſtirred up to rebellion by the bulls of Rome and the intrigues of Spain; but though he was at the head of a very conſiderable army, he miſcarried in the enterpriſe, which his ſucceſſor, lord Mountjoy, afterwards brought to a glorious concluſion. Upon this the queen's affection cooled, and he was diſgraced; yet it is not queſtioned but ſhe would have pardoned him, had he prudently ſuffered time to work; inſtead of which, his haſty impetuous temper, irritated by deſpair, plunged him into a conſpiracy and rebellion. He was ſeized, and, after

after a ſhort trial, beheaded in 1601. Yet, notwithſtanding his offences, he had ſtill continued to be the object of Elizabeth's affection, and might have obtained his pardon, but he diſdained to make the leaſt ſubmiſſion. After this the queen, for the remainder of her life, languiſhed in deep melancholy, either cauſed by the death of Eſſex, or the vexation of ſeeing the attention and homage of the courtiers directed to James VI. king of Scotland, the preſumptive heir to her crown.

1603. Death of Elizabeth.

This illuſtrious princeſs, whoſe private life furniſhes matter of cenſure, but who always governed like a great monarch, died in the ſeventieth year of her age. Her reign, which laſted forty four years, was free from civil wars, at a time when fanaticiſm armed ſo many ſubjects againſt their ſovereigns. Though ſhe allowed no liberty of conſcience, and from time to time rigorouſly checked both the Catholics, who were become objects of her ſuſpicion, and the Puritans, whom we ſhall ſee ſo dangerous under the reigns of the Stuarts; the vigilance, activity and prudence of her government extinguiſhed evey ſpark of rebellion, which was a wonderful prodigy, eſpecially if we reflect upon the character of the nation, and the misfortunes of the following reigns.

No civil wars during her reign.

Extent then given to the prerogative.

It is true, that the royal prerogative was almoſt unlimited under the Tudors. About the end of this reign, the abuſe of monopolies and excluſive privileges having been ſtrongly attacked in parliament, the famous Bacon, afterwards chancellor, laid it down as a principle, that the prerogative was above all examination; that it might enlarge what was reſtrained, and reſtrain what was enlarged, by the laws. Another ſaid, that the power of diſpenſing from the ſtatutes rendered the prince incapable of being bound by any ſtatute. Another, building upon that text of ſcripture, *I have ſaid that ye are Gods*, affirmed, that God has entruſted *abſolute* princes with his ſupreme authority. Another carried the ſpirit of ſlavery ſo far as to maintain, that all the poſſeſſions of the ſubjects belong to the ſovereign, and

that

that he may diſpoſe of them as the revenues of the crown. The ſentiments of liberty, which were already beginning to bud in men's minds, ſometimes ſhewed themſelves; but the parliament were not on that account leſs ſubmiſſive to the will of Elizabeth.

Arbitrary tribunals ſhewed the government to be really deſpotic. The *ſtar chamber*, the members of which might be diſplaced at the pleaſure of the court, took cognizance of all offences and diſorders which had not been provided againſt by the common law. The *high commiſſion*, as we have already obſerved, differed little from the Spaniſh inquiſition, whether we conſider the deſign for which it was inſtituted, or its odious procedures. *Martial law*, which is neceſſary for the maintenance of military diſcipline, and ſubjects ſoldiers to the moſt ſpeedy and rigorous juſtice, was on ſeveral occaſions made uſe of againſt other perſons. In a word, the Engliſh enjoyed only a ſhadow of that civil liberty which at preſent they make their boaſt, and which is not ſo great a happineſs as they imagine, if it becomes a ſource of cabals and diſcord. Arbitrary tribunals.

The right of granting or refuſing ſubſidies, and levying taxes, which is ſo ineſtimable a privilege to the nation, even at that time occaſioned great abuſes of the prerogative. Elizabeth, not having money to beſtow as favours or rewards, laviſhed grants of excluſive privileges, and extended them even to the common and neceſſary articles of merchandiſe, which were conſequently ſold by a few intereſted individuals at their own price: it was therefore impoſſible that trade could flouriſh when thus a prey to monopolies. Beſides, though the ordinary revenue of the crown exceeded five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſovereign was neceſſitated to have recourſe to forced loans, to *benevolences*, or compulſory gratuities, and other dangerous methods, which were looked upon as matters of right, but have ſince been ſuppreſſed as uſurpations. In a word, without the moſt prudent economy, Elizabeth could not have ſupported the expenſes of the ſtate. How Elizabeth ſupplied the ſcantineſs of her revenue.

One

Yet ſhe was beloved by her ſubjects.

One thing which reflects the greateſt honour on her memory is, that notwithſtanding the exerciſe of an abſolute authority, and a ſeverity frequently rigorous, ſhe was ſtill beloved by her ſubjects. We have ſeen how ſhe animated their zeal and courage for the defence of the kingdom; and the confidence which ſhe profeſſed to repoſe in them, increaſed their attachment to her perſon.—*I will never believe any thing of my people*, ſaid ſhe, *that fathers and mothers would not believe of their children.*

Her project for humbling the houſe of Auſtria.

Her vaſt political deſigns, like thoſe of Henry IV. tended to humble the houſe of Auſtria. Both had formed the ſame plan, without any communication with one another; and they propoſed an interview equally deſired by each, but which the difficulties of adjuſting the ceremonial unluckily prevented. However, Sulli ſupplied his maſter's place in quality of ambaſſadour. He has left the particulars of his converſation with the queen, in which we ſee that ſyſtem of a balance between the powers of Europe, which afterwards made one of the principal foundations of general policy.

The three kingdoms united under James I.

James VI. king of Scotland, the firſt of that name in England, and neareſt relation to Elizabeth, united the three kingdoms, which at preſent are called by the name of Great Britain. Mr. Hume ſays, that all three were at that time of leſs value than Ireland alone is at this day; and Ireland was then, if I may uſe the expreſſion, wretchedneſs itſelf. When the induſtry of mankind is roufed by good laws, directed by the light of experience and reaſon, what prodigious changes is it not capable of making in the world! Of this Holland is a remarkable proof. Still poor and unhappy, it with difficulty defended its liberty againſt Spain. Sulli negotiated in its favour with James; and a defenſive league was made for the United Provinces, which ſoon grew to power.

How greatly they have gained by their induſtry.

Treaty in favour of Holland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Concluſion of the Reign of Henry IV.—*Affairs of Venice, Holland, and Spain.*

Various conſpiracies againſt Henry IV.

WHILE France was reaping the fruits of an excellent adminiſtration, and ſaw her ſtrength revive with her happineſs, new conſpiracies were inceſſantly forming againſt the king. His miſtreſs (d'Entragues) who expoſed him to the queen's peeviſh humour, was ungrateful enough to betray him. She endeavoured to put in force the promiſe of marriage, which ſhe had received, notwithſtanding the zeal of the miniſter; and the court of Spain fanned the fire of the cabals. Old d'Entragues, his daughter, and the count d'Auvergne, entered into a correſpondence with that court. The plot was diſcovered, and the criminals were arreſted and condemned, but pardoned by Henry. He was afterwards obliged to take arms againſt the duke de Bouillon, who ſtirred up the Calviniſts, and deprived him of Sedan, but immediately reſtored it. We ſhall ſee this king, notwithſtanding his extraordinary beneficence and attention to every thing that could gain the hearts of his ſubjects, continually ſurrounded with traitors and aſſaſſins, till at laſt he fell under the ſtroke of fanaticiſm.

He recals the Jeſuits, contrary to the advice of Sulli & the parliament.

Meantime Henry recalled the Jeſuits, out of complaiſance to the pope, againſt the advice of Sulli, and in oppoſition to the ſtrong remonſtrances made to him by Achilles de Harlai, firſt preſident of the parliament. Father Cotton, one of the moſt able politicians in their order, enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of his confidence, and by opening to them acceſs to the court, ſoon furniſhed them with means for acquiring exceſſive credit.

It

In what reſpect this order might be dreaded.

It is not to be doubted, that ſeveral advantages might be reaped from the activity and talents of that body, which was devoted to ſtudy and indefatigable labours. But, if it entertained prejudices contrary to the intereſt of the nation; if it was the inſtrument of the court of Rome; became the arbiter of opinions and conſciences; had an influence in all affairs great and ſmall; and formed a powerful party in the ſtate, which it was dangerous to reſiſt; was it not to be apprehended, that this eſtabliſhment would open a way to troubles and abuſes? This was dreaded by Sulli and the parliament; but Cotton had the art of pleaſing and perſuading the monarch. Certainly, the circumſtances were not ſuch as could produce prejudices favourable to the order.

Theologiſts, biſhops, & popes, engaged in diſputes.

Every day gave birth to ſome poiſonous fruit, either from religious diſſenſions, the pretenſions of the clergy, or the ancient papal deſpotiſm. The Jeſuits and Dominicans carried on a kind of war on the ſubject of their ſyſtems upon grace, which was almoſt as violent as that between the Catholics and Proteſtants. The Calviniſts in France eſtabliſhed in their ſynods, as an article of faith, that—*the pope is properly antichriſt, the beaſt clothed in ſcarlet, which the Lord ſhall diſcomfit, as he hath promiſed.* The archbiſhops of Aix and Bourdeaux excommunicated the parliaments who ſhould dare to try clerks in criminal accuſations. The Catholics in England, as we ſhall relate elſewhere, formed the horrid *gun powder plot*, to deſtroy, at a ſingle blow, the king, the royal family, and the whole parliament. Next year (1606) broke out the famous quarrel between the court of Rome and the Venetians, the conſequences of which would perhaps have been fatal, had it not been for the mediation of the king of France.

The republic of Venice embroiled with Paul V. for having uſed her rights.

Of all the Catholic ſtates, that of Venice was leaſt a ſlave to prejudices repugnant to the civil laws, and derogatory from the power of ſovereigns. This republic followed, with deliberate but firm ſteps, a ſyſtem of liberty, which the popes looked upon as a ſyſtem of rebellion.

bellion. An Auguſtine monk, guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, had been put to death. Two eccleſiaſtics were in priſon for the like offences, and their trial would infallibly be followed by their execution. Beſides, the ſenate had forbidden the building any more churches and convents without permiſſion, as they were already too numerous; and prohibited, in future, the alienation of lands to the clergy and monks, who were become a burden to the ſtate by their riches and their exemption from impoſts. All theſe were things that neceſſarily drew down the thunders of Rome.

Clement VIII. who died in 1605, had prudently diſſembled. Paul V. (Borgheſe) more haughty and enterpriſing, excommunicated the doge and the ſenate, and put the whole republic under an interdict. The Theatins, the Capuchins, and the Jeſuits, were the only perſons who ſubmitted to the bull; and the laſt were ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment as being of a more intriguing ſpirit than the others. Paul then attempting to ſupport his anathemas by force of arms, and the Venetians preparing to defend their rights and liberties, Henry offered himſelf as mediator, and in that quality put an end to the quarrel, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Spaniſh court, whoſe credit had long been prevalent at Rome. The ſenate put the two criminal prieſts into the hands of the pope, and ſuſpended the execution of its laws without revoking them; but refuſed to reſtore the Jeſuits. We may judge by this accommodation, that if the Venetians then entertained the ſame principles as they do at preſent, they did not find it ſo eaſy to put them in practice. From how many trammels has the progreſs of reaſon freed governments!

1606. The republic put under an interdict.

Henry IV. mediator.

The war with Holland ſtill continued. Henry protected thoſe brave republicans, who for ſo many years reſiſted the Spaniſh power; and had the glory of procuring an acknowledgment of their independence, which, notwithſtanding their invincible courage, they had not yet

Affairs of Holland.

yet been able to obtain. Let us collect the facts, the knowledge of which here becomes neceſſary.

Maurice, prince of Orange, maintains the war againſt Spain.

In 1598, Philip II. ceded the Low Countries, Franche Comté, and the territory of Charolois, to the infanta Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, archduke of Auſtria (formerly cardinal and archbiſhop of Toledo) on condition, that in default of heirs, or in caſe the heirs ſhould renounce the Catholic religion, theſe provinces ſhould revert to Spain. Though the Dutch had been leſs fond of liberty, yet the dread of again falling under the Spaniſh yoke was ſufficient to make them redouble their efforts. Their leader, Maurice of Naſſau, prince of Orange, maintained the glory of his family. Sieges, battles, and conqueſts, were multiplied as before.

Famous ſiege of Oſtend.

No ſiege can be found in modern hiſtory comparable to that of Oſtend, for its length, or the blood that was ſpilt. This place, which held out three years and three months, coſt the Spaniards fourſcore thouſand men, and the Hollanders ſixty thouſand.

The Spinolas.

Ambroſe Spinola, a Genoeſe, who glorioufly concluded this ſiege in 1604, is a great example of the ſtrength of genius. While his brother Frederic was diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the armies, Ambroſe was engaged in trade, but all at once came to join him; when, the former being killed, he ſupplied his place, ſhewing himſelf an able captain, though he had no maſters except books. He was created commander in chief in Flanders by Philip III. Such is the force of genius, it can without aſſiſtance rapidly make its way to glory, to which mere aſſiduity leads only by ſlow degrees.

Wonderful progreſs of the Dutch.

In the heat of this obſtinate war, the Dutch, by dint of admirable economy, frugality, activity, courage, and induſtry, had put themſelves into a condition, not only to improve their country, but to execute the greateſt enterpriſes abroad. Their fleets had already taken the Moluccas in the Eaſt Indies from the Portugueſe, or rather from Spain, of which Portugal was ſtill a province.

vince.—"Holland (ſays Mr. Voltaire very juſtly) de-
"ſerves the more attention, as it is a ſtate of a kind en-
"tirely new, which has become powerful almoſt with-
"out poſſeſſing any land, rich without having of its
"own growth a ſufficiency to maintain the twentieth
"part of its inhabitants, and conſiderable in Europe
"by its induſtry in the extremity of Aſia." Let us add, a ſtate which was nothing before it was free.

1609. Philip III. acknowledges their independence.

At length, by the good offices of the king of France, and the addreſs of his ambaſſadour, the preſident Jeannin, the Dutch liberty was eſtabliſhed on a firm footing, by a truce of twelve years, concluded at the Hague; by which Philip III. acknowledged the United Provinces as free and independent ſtates, and obliged himſelf to allow them a free trade in the Indies and America. Of the ſeventeen provinces comprehended in the Netherlands, the houſe of Auſtria has loſt ſeven; the pooreſt, indeed; but which, by their union, form the greateſt and richeſt republic in the world.

The Moriſcoes baniſhed from Spain.

Can it be believed that Spain, after ſo many loſſes, which, notwithſtanding the empire of the new world had drained it of men and money, ſhould yet give itſelf a deep and incurable wound, from the ſame perſecuting ſpirit by which it had loſt a great part of its ſubjects? By an inſenſate edict all the Moriſcoes were ordered to leave the monarchy in thirty days. Such were the fruits produced by the zeal of the inquiſitors. It was imputed as a crime to the duke of Oſſuna, that he had the courage ſingly to oppoſe this meaſure. They had likewiſe made it one in the king, that he ſhed ſome tears at an *auto de fé*. It is ſaid that the grand inquiſitor condemned him, as an expiation for the ſcandal he had given, to cauſe himſelf to be let blood, which the executioner threw into the fire. Such an atrocious deed appears incredible, even amidſt the horrours which were at that time too certainly committed by the inquiſition.

Inſolent cruelty of the inquiſitors.

Whatever

Conſequences of the edict againſt the Moriſcoes.

Whatever be in this, hiſtorians eſtimate the loſs ſuſtained by Spain, in conſequence of this edict, at a million of people; and they were of that claſs, who, by their labour and induſtry, made themſelves moſt uſeful. Almoſt all of them fled into Aſia and Africa.

In the reign of Louis XIII. they made an offer of clearing the waſte lands in Gaſcony, but it was rejected; notwithſtanding which, ſome of them ſettled in France, where their poſterity has been hardly treated. Theſe unhappy people, whom the Chriſtians perſecuted as Mahometans, paſſed among the Mahometans for Chriſtians; and thus fell victims to the hatred which ſubſiſted between the two religions. An evident proof, that, had the inquiſitors been humane and reaſonable, ſuch of them as were ſtill attached to their ancient practiſes might have been made true Chriſtians by inſtruction and gentleneſs. According to Perefixe, above ſixty thouſand Huguenots were converted by the gentle uſage they met with from Henry IV. but they would have been burned, or at leaſt baniſhed, by the inquiſition.

They might have been converted, inſtead of being loſt.

Project of a *Chriſtian republic* formed by Henry IV.

This monarch's great deſigns were upon the point of being diſcloſed. The project of a *Chriſtian republic*, which is to be found in Sulli's Memoirs, has been commonly ranked among the political reveries. It was propoſed to divide Europe into fifteen ſettled powers, none of which ſhould be ſuffered to make any new acquiſition, and ſhould all together form an aſſociation for maintaining a mutual balance, and preſerving peace. Henry conceived, and certainly carefully meditated on this ſublime idea; but what appearance is there that he thought it capable of being realized? His actual deſign was, to ſet bounds to the ambition and power of the houſe of Auſtria, both in Germany and Italy.

He forms a league againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

He had already taken all his meaſures, when the emperour Rodolphus II. furniſhed him with a reaſon for commencing the war, by ſequeſtrating the dutchies of Juliers, Cleves, and Bergue, after the death of the laſt duke.

duke. Henry entered into a league with the elector of Brandenburg and the count Palatine of Neuburg, who both pretended to the ſucceſſion. The Proteſtants of Germany, always reſtleſs and ſuſpicious, likewiſe formed a league for the maintenance of their liberties; of which he was the prime mover, and which he did not neglect to join. The pope, the Venetians, the duke of Savoy, the Swiſs, and other ſtates, likewiſe entered into thoſe views. Never was any enterpriſe better concerted.

His means of ſucceſs.

He was to march into Germany at the head of forty thouſand excellent troops. The army, proviſions, and every other neceſſary, were in readineſs. Money could not fail him; Sulli having laid up forty millions in the treaſury, which were deſtined for this war. How could an emperour, immerſed in the ſtudy of aſtronomy and the ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone, and a king of Spain, ruled by his favourites and the inquiſitors, both of them without ſtrength and foreſight, have borne up againſt the ſtorm that threatened them?

1610. He is aſſaſſinated by Ravillac.

Henry, though impatient to join the army, and his mind haraſſed with ſiniſter forebodings, was ſtopped againſt his will, upon account of the queen's coronation; a ceremony which ſhe inſiſted upon with too much eagerneſs. Paſſing along a ſtreet, his coach was entangled; and, his footmen quitting it, Ravillac, a deſperate fanatic, who had long formed a deſign to murder him, taking advantage of the opportunity, ſtabbed him, in the midſt of ſeven courtiers, who were in the coach. Thus died, at the age of fifty ſeven, a prince worthy of immortality; againſt whom above fifty conſpiracies had been formed, whoſe memory is to this day adored by every good Frenchman, and whoſe reign ought to ſerve as a model to the princes who love their ſubjects. Let us bury in oblivion a few ſpots which ſtain his private life, weakneſſes which unhappily are too common to heroic minds; and examine his principles of government, which form the beſt leſſon for ſovereigns, for ſtateſmen, and for all who deſire to be acquainted with the ſources of public proſperity.

CHAP. V.

Picture of the Government of Henry IV. *and the Administration of Sulli.*

I SHALL trace only a general ſketch, for my plan is inconſiſtent with long details. Theſe are to be found in the Memoirs of Sulli; a work which ought to be ſtudied with care by all who would acquire a knowledge of the true principles of politics.

Dreadful ſtate of France in the beginning of this reign.

Let us repreſent to ourſelves the dreadful ſtate of the monarchy in the beginning of this reign. Civil wars, ſo much the more furious, as ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm fanned the fire of rebellion, and received from it an activity which made them ſtill more terrible; the feelings of juſtice, humanity, patriotiſm, and duty, ſtifled by the rage of cabals, and the vices and intereſts of the factious; the regal authority ſo far debaſed, as to make no impreſſion upon hearts naturally friends to royalty; the vitals of the ſtate almoſt entirely corrupted; diſorder and robbery univerſally prevalent; the laws without vigour; the clergy refractory; the nobles breaking through all rule and reſtraint; and the force of arms annihilating the rights and happineſs of ſociety. To remedy ſo many miſchiefs, a king was neceſſary, who to admirable qualifications joined a paſſion for public good, a ſteady application to buſineſs, a ſagacity which nothing could eſcape, a courage which nothing could ſhake; and ſuch was Henry IV. who ſo well deſerved the ſurname of Great.

Qualities requiſite in the King.

He made himſelf adored by his troops.

As a general, he poſſeſſed in a ſuperiour degree the art of gaining the military men. Accuſtomed to the profeſſion of arms from his moſt early youth, and educated

cated in camps, he not only ſet an example of labour, ſobriety, and courage, but charmed the ſoldiers by his behaviour and diſcourſe, which breathed all the vivacity of his genius, and the beneficence of his heart. From his mouth the leaſt expreſſion of praiſe acquired ineſtimable value.

But the love of independence and the thirſt of ambition formed an almoſt inſuperable obſtacle to the reſtoration of order. The majority of the great men wanted to make themſelves abſolute in the provinces. Nothing was thought of but diſmembering the government, appropriating principalities, or even erecting commonwealths. The republican ſpirit, rouſed by Calviniſm and the progreſs of Holland, fermented briſkly in the kingdom. It is not ſurpriſing, therefore, that Henry, when he entered into treaty with the principal lords of the league, granted them ſo advantageous terms. But the ſpirit of independence was univerſal.

Peace was abſolutely neceſſary to him, and two and thirty millions were ſacrificed for that purpoſe. Villars Brancas, who had defended Rouen with the moſt heroic courage, exacted, for his ſingle ſhare, a penſion of ſixty thouſand livres, with governments and other favours. To keep the factious nobles within bounds, to prevent or repreſs their frequent conſpiracies, to form a regular plan of adminiſtration, and purſue it with ſucceſs, in the midſt of ſo many cabals and dangers, is a work which cannot claim too much admiration. What it coſt to gain the factious.

Henry ſtood in need of a miniſter worthy to ſhare with him the cares of government. Without aſſiſtance, he would have ſunk under the burden; and, if he did not make the moſt judicious choice, he would have been bewildered in that labyrinth: perhaps, he might even have done harm, while he was endeavouring to do good. Roſni, or the celebrated duke of Sulli, was formed by nature for that glorious, but ſlippery, ſtation. He poſſeſſed the friendſhip of his maſter, and deſerved it by his virtues, as well as his ſervices. A hero in the field, he diſplayed ſtill greater abilities in the cabinet. Far Sulli neceſſary for the government.

from deſpiſing that kind of knowledge which is acquired by reading, a fault almoſt univerſal among the nobility of his time, he applied himſelf early to inſtructive ſtudies. He read not for the ſake of amuſement, but information; making extracts, arranging his ideas, reflecting, and obſerving. Nor had the contemplation of what was paſſing in the world contributed leſs than books to extend the ſphere of his genius. In a word, never did a miniſter, poſſeſſed of more extenſive capacity or greater zeal for the public good, take upon him the political adminiſtration. Accordingly, he was mortally hated by thoſe who had turned to their own advantage the former diſorders, a reformation of which he had the courage to attempt.

Ruin of the finances.

The finances, in particular, were in a ſtate ſo deplorably ruinous, that the king, far from being able to ſupply the public exigences, was even in want of neceſſaries for his perſon. During the war with Spain, in 1696, he held at Rouen an aſſembly of the *notables*, in order to take their advice, and procure aids; where he ſpoke like the father of his people.—*I have not called you*, ſaid he, among other things, *as my predeceſſors did, to oblige you blindly to approve my will; I have cauſed you to be aſſembled, in order to receive your advice, to liſten to it, to follow it; in a word, to make you my guardians. This is ſeldom done by kings, grey beards, and victors, like me; but the love which I bear to my ſubjects, and the extreme deſire that I have to preſerve my kingdom, make me think every thing eaſy and honourable.*

Aſſembly at Rouen.

Injudicious ſyſtem there eſtabliſhed.

This aſſembly ill anſwered his confidence. It propoſed to eſtabliſh a council of *reaſon*, whoſe members ſhould be of its own nomination, to manage one half of the revenue, for the purpoſe of paying penſions and diſcharging debts, without being ſubject to have the accounts inſpected. Such a ſyſtem was irreconcilable with the royal authority. Yet Sulli cauſed it to be accepted, foreſeeing that it would ſoon fall of itſelf, and that the neceſſity of effectual remedies would be more clearly

clearly perceived. In fact, these ignorant administrators had scarce exercised their office three months, when, finding it impossible to succeed, they petitioned for a suppression of the new council. Experience of ill is often necessary to lead men to good.

Sulli superintendant.

After this, the whole management of the revenue was put into the hands of Sulli. The last superintendant, Francis d'O, a man equally rapacious and prodigal, had filled up the measure of the abuses produced by the dissipations and vices of Henry III. The state was indebted three hundred and thirty millions of livres, which at present would make eight hundred and two* of the current money of France. One hundred and fifty millions were levied on the people, and of that only about thirty came into the treasury. Thus the king, loaded with debts, received only a fifth part of what was exacted from the nation, which was overwhelmed with misery. The great increase of taxes, instead of enriching the state, had long been appropriated to raising the fortunes of a few men, who preyed upon the nation. We have seen that the perpetual taille was established under Charles VII. in whose reign it did not exceed eighteen hundred thousand livres. So early as the reign of Francis I. it amounted to fifteen millions seven hundred thousand livres †. The kingdom had, after that time, experienced every kind of misfortune, equally proper to ruin the prince and increase the oppression of the people.

The wretched state in which he found the public.

He examines and discovers all the abuses.

Sulli resolved to examine every thing in person, before he attempted the bringing of this chaos into order. His zeal was neither cooled by the immense labour it required, nor the infinite number of obstacles he had to encounter. He saw that the financiers, by their secret practices,

* About 33,041,666 l. English.

† The foreign wars, kindled by a fatal ambition, had necessarily produced this augmentation of the imposts, and made the princes ruin their subjects and dominions. According to Comines, Charles VIII. could not continue his march in Italy, without borrowing from the Genoese at two and forty *per cent.*

practices, robbed the king with impunity, while they affected to ſerve him; that the ladies and grandees of the court, ſharing the fruits of their extortions, intereſted themſelves keenly in their defence; that odious taxes had been impoſed, only to fill the coffers of thoſe inſatiable men; that the people were more oppreſſed, as their money was loſt among a multiplicity of hands, which prevented it from reaching the treaſury. He perceived that the actual revenues were likewiſe diſſipated in vain expenſes, and that, if they were not ſufficient to ſupply the exigences, it was principally for want of knowing how to employ them with economy and prudence. He ſaw the evils, and found the remedies.

His operations & ſucceſſes.

To make the receipt leſs complicated; to recover the real rights, and cancel ſuch as were abuſive and uſurped; to ſubject the finances to an exact and clear order, balance the receipt and the expenſe, ſacrifice the frivolous to the uſeful, and direct all the operations to the ſame end, the public good; in theſe conſiſted the ſecret of the miniſter, which is clearly explained in his Memoirs. The effects were, that, in the ſpace of fifteen years, the debts were diſcharged; the revenues increaſed four millions, and forty millions in reſerve; at the ſame time that the taxes were conſiderably diminiſhed.

Cabals againſt him.

The clamours and artifices of thoſe, who before fattened on the ſubſtance of the people, may be gueſſed. By dint of calumnies, they ſometimes well nigh effected the ruin of the miniſter; but luckily theſe clouds were ſoon diſpelled from the king's mind. It ſeems then that a miniſter, who roſe every morning at four for the ſervice of Henry IV. and who had been honoured with his friendſhip from his youth, could do no good to the public without danger! Such is the lot of all great ſtateſmen.

The king himſelf ſometimes thwarted his views.

From ſeveral paſſages in Sulli's memoirs, it appears that his views of adminiſtration and economy were frequently thwarted by the king himſelf, ſome of whoſe inclinations

inclinations that miniſter was far from approving. He ſaid that every year's ordinary expenſe, in buildings, play, miſtreſſes, and dogs, amounted to twelve hundred thouſand crowns; a ſum ſufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thouſand foot. (*L.* xvi.) "I could not re-"frain from ſpeaking of it to himſelf, at the hazard "of incurring his diſpleaſure." In other places, he complains that the king's complaiſance for thoſe whom he indulged in any degree of familiarity with him, particularly the women, prevented the puniſhment of the principal extortioners. (*L.* xii.) "They found a ſure "refuge in that very metal for which they were purſu-"ed; ſo that the ſtorm fell ſolely upon thoſe, who "could only reproach themſelves with not having ſtolen "enough to ſecure their thefts."

His principles carried to too great lengths in ſome points.

Let us at the ſame time acknowledge, that there are to be found, in the ſyſtems of the miniſter, ſome principles carried too great lengths, ſome errours in that age unavoidable, particularly on the ſubject of the coin. Being a rigid advocate for the ſimplicity of the old manners, which were enemies to every appearance of luxury, perhaps he was not ſufficiently ſenſible that novelties muſt neceſſarily be introduced into a kingdom ſuch as France, by the changes in the ſtate of Europe, and the progreſs of maritime commerce.

Agriculture encouraged, an eſſential point.

But both he and Henry were ſenſible, that a fertile ſoil, well cultivated, is the principal ſource of happineſs to the people; becauſe from thence they not only draw all their means of ſubſiſtence, but are enabled to procure the conveniences of life. What are fictitious riches, in compariſon with the bleſſings of nature? Where the productions of the earth are found in plenty, thither gold neceſſarily flows, unleſs its paſſage be ſtopped. If agriculture flouriſhes, it will ſoon produce the advantages of trade. They therefore made it their principal care to encourage agriculture; and the king invited the nobleſſe to reſide on their eſtates, that they might there lay out with advantage the money which

is almoſt fruitleſſly ſpent elſewhere. He relieved the peaſants, whom he was deſirous of making happy; the infallible method of giving life to the labours of huſbandry. In a word, without our theories and ſcientific methods, uſeful as they may be ſuppoſed, the lands, according to ſome able writers, then yielded five times as much as they do in our days.

Silk manufacture.

This extraordinary decreaſe ſeems principally owing to the ſilk manufacture, which Sulli condemned with too much ſeverity, but Henry notwithſtanding began to introduce, and which under Louis XIV. was carried beyond all bounds. To that is owing the neglect of woolens, and conſequently that of the breed of ſheep; leſs dung, fewer labourers, fewer raw materials of our own production; theſe are ſo many loſſes, which the manufactures of artificers cannot compenſate.

Cauſes of the ruin of ſtates, according to Sulli.

If we would know how far Sulli's views extended for the good of the ſtate, we may form a judgment from a paſſage of his Memoirs (*L.* xix.) containing only an enumeration, which he laid before the king, of the cauſes that ruin or weaken monarchies.—"Theſe cauſes," ſays he, "are enormous ſubſidies; monopolies, princi-
"pally of corn; neglect of commerce, traffic, huſban-
"dry, arts, and trades; a great number of offices, their
"expenſe, and too great authority of thoſe who exerciſe
"them; fees, delays, and iniquitous procedures, in the
"courts of juſtice; idleneſs, luxury, with all its con-
"comitants; debauchery and corruption of morals;
"the confuſion of ranks; alteration of the coin; un-
"juſt and imprudent wars; deſpotiſm of the ſovereigns;
"their blind attachment to particular perſons; preju-
"dices in favour of certain orders or profeſſions; avi-
"dity of miniſters or favourites; diſreſpect to people of
"quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the
"toleration of bad cuſtoms, and the violation of good
"laws; an obſtinate adherence to indifferent or abuſive
"practices; and a multiplicity of embarraſſing edicts,
"or ſuperfluous regulations."

He

He adds—"If I wanted to eſtabliſh any maxim, it "ſhould be this—*That good morals and good laws reci-* "*procally form each other.* Unhappily for us, we do not "become ſenſible of this invaluable connexion, till we "have carried corruption and all abuſes to the higheſt "pitch; ſo that among mankind the greateſt good "originates only from the greateſt evil." This is one of thoſe luminous truths, which ought to be perpetually in our minds. If the government neglects the morals of the people, theſe will neglect the laws; and evils will daily increaſe. The Spartan virtues, which Sulli every where inculcates, are, it muſt be owned, in a great meaſure incompatible with the ſpirit of an extenſive and opulent monarchy; but at leaſt it is to be wiſhed that the moſt eſſential of them were adopted. Vile paſſions would not then ſtifle the love of country. And why are probity and virtue in certain nations the ſport of inſolent wealth, but becauſe they are neglected or diſdained by men in power?

Mutual connection between good morals and good laws.

When the people are made happy, the prince becomes powerful. He is ſure of finding in the love of his ſubjects, reſources which cannot be furniſhed by the exerciſe of deſpotiſm; and of this Henry was convinced. The duke of Savoy aſking him what the revenue of France amounted to, he replied—*To what I pleaſe; for, having the hearts of my people, they will grant me whatever I aſk.* A good father, beloved by his children, is certain of their aſſiſtance.

Power of the prince inſeparable from the happineſs of the people.

His paternal cares extended to every thing. He propoſed to make a reformation in the courts of juſtice; to retrench the fees, ſhorten the delays, and eradicate chicanery. Sulli was entruſted with this care; whoſe idea of referring ſuits between relations to the judgment of arbitrators (*L.* xxvi.) would ſpare families an infinite number of misfortunes. But while laws are too ſubtile, too confined, too numerous, ſometimes contradictory, at others founded on falſe principles, there will always be an inexhauſtible ſource of abuſes. Louis XIV. himſelf

Project for the reformation of the courts of juſtice.

himſelf left ſome, which are of the greateſt inconvenience to ſuitors, and which expoſe juſt right to fraud and rapine.

Suppreſſion of offices.

Several offices were ſuppreſſed, which, by a faulty policy, had been created for ſale, and which only augmented the obſtructions in the finances, and vexations in civil ſociety. But this ſcourge has perpetually increaſed ſince that time, ſo prone is policy to ſhut its eyes againſt future inconveniences for the ſake of a momentary advantage.

Henry attempted to reſtore order and peace in the church.

It was not owing to Henry IV. that the clergy did not ſet an example of the virtue, diſintereſtedneſs, moderation, and patriotiſm, neceſſary for the tranquillity of the kingdom; that the two rival religions did not ſacrifice their mutual antipathy to the love of order and peace; that the Catholics, who enjoyed the king's favour, did not treat the Calviniſts as their brethren; and that theſe did not ſit down contented with their liberty of conſcience, inſtead of indulging themſelves in animoſities and dangerous projects. Unluckily, the generality of both were governed by party ſpirit. Men were yet far from poſſeſſing the knowledge, which ſhews the abſurdity of that ſpirit, and entertaining ſentiments of moderation. We muſt therefore expect new troubles and new religious wars, as ſoon as a leſs equitable government rekindled thoſe fires, which were concealed under the aſhes.

Too many obſtacles yet ſtood in the way.

Privilege of the nobility reſtrained.

The laſt king had ſuppreſſed that ſpecies of nobility, which was acquired by the ſingle poſſeſſion of fiefs; and Henry IV. likewiſe cancelled that which was conferred ſolely by the profeſſion of arms. The privileges attached to the quality of noble are burdenſome to the people, and therefore ought certainly to be granted with a ſparing hand. Making them the reward of long military ſervices, as was done by Louis XV. is the way to rouſe emulation without multiplying abuſes.

Uſeful works in this reign.

Neither the ſtate of the kingdom, nor the ſyſtem of economy, permitted the erection of thoſe magnificent works,

works, where the nobleſt productions of letters, ſciences and the fine arts ſeem to proclaim the glory of the prince, and the happineſs of the ſtate. Yet, according to Voltaire, Henry was the real founder of the royal library. He built the gallery of the Louvre and the Pont Neuf. To him the French are indebted for the canal of Briaire, which joins the Seine and the Loire. He projected other canals, and the junction of the two ſeas; works which are the more advantageous, as the internal trade alone would be almoſt ſufficient to make the nation flouriſh. Let us agree with Sulli, who gives a juſt eſtimate of the great qualities of that prince, none of whoſe faults he diſſembles—*Time was all he wanted to execute his glorious enterpriſes.*

He only wanted time.

CHAP. VI.

Diſorders, Troubles, and Civil Wars, in the beginning of the Reign of Louis XIII.

THE aſſaſſination of Henry IV. which is ſuſpected on probable grounds, though they do not amount to a proof, to have been effected by a conſpiracy, overthrew the whole ſtructure which his wiſe conduct had raiſed, diſpelled all the hopes of the good ſubjects, and plunged the kingdom into every ſpecies of misfortune. Under the maſk of mourning, and in the midſt of the public ſorrow, the joy of ſeveral perſons diſcovered itſelf even in the Louvre. Theſe intriguers, theſe rapacious and ambitious men, already built projects for raiſing their fortune on the ruins of their country. Louis XIII. was but nine years old, and a regency was on the point of opening a way to the moſt deſtructive cabals.

1610. Every thing foreboded misfortunes after the death of Henry IV.

The

The duke d'Epernon in the parliament.

The duke d'Epernon who had been inceſſantly diſturbing the government during the laſt reign, immediately gave wing to his arrogance. In full parliament, he in a manner ordered the nomination of Mary Medici to the regency, laying his hand on the hilt of his ſword, and ſaying, in a threatening tone—*It is yet in the ſcabbard, but ſhall be drawn, if the queen be not this inſtant granted a title which is her due by the order of nature, and the rules of juſtice*; and that court, being no longer free to act, paſſed an arret conformable to his pleaſure. According to ancient cuſtom, the deciſion of this affair belonged to the ſtates general. But the juncture was critical, time preſſed, it was neceſſary to prevent the diſorders of anarchy, and the parliament doubtleſs ſaw with pleaſure ſo important an addition made to their authority.

Arret conferring the regency on the queen.

Concini and his wife all powerful.

Nothing can equal the vices and follies of the new government. The Florentine Concini, marquis d'Ancre, afterwards mareſchal of France, and ſtill more his wife Eleanora Galigai, had an abſolute aſcendant over the mind of the queen, whoſe weakneſs and incapacity gave full play to their paſſions. Theſe two foreigners, equally rapacious and ſubtle, raiſed themſelves, from a condition below mediocrity, to the ſummit of fortune. The council of ſtate met only for form ſake; its members debated, but they decided nothing. Every thing was regulated by a ſecret council, which aſſembled at undue hours, determined all meaſures, changed the political ſyſtem, and acted upon maxims directly oppoſite to thoſe of Henry IV. Concini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spaniſh ambaſſadour, and father Cotton, were in the number of its members. Was Sulli wrong when he ſaid—*We are going to fall under the dominion of Spain and the Jeſuits; all good Frenchmen ought to look to themſelves, for they will not long be left undiſturbed.*

Seeret council.

The ſyſtem of the laſt reign overturned.

In fact, almoſt all the deliberations tended to an union between France and Spain, by the marriage of Anne of Auſtria with the king, and his ſiſter Elizabeth with the

the ſon of Philip III. the diſſolution of the alliances formed under the laſt reign, the ruin of the Calviniſts, and the diſſipation of the treaſure, either to enrich favourites, or to purchaſe adherents. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, who relied upon the faith of treaties, was ſhamefully abandoned to the vengeance of the Spaniards; but Leſdiguieres marched twice to his aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition; which is another proof of the weakneſs of the government.

Sulli retires from court.

Sulli could be looked upon only with an evil eye in this court, whence every ſentiment of honour was baniſhed. His manly frankneſs, his noble pride, made him incapable of yielding to pernicious counſels. He demanded leave to retire, which was granted with pleaſure; and employed the reſt of his life, which laſted till 1641, in doing an additional ſervice to poſterity, by writing his Memoirs; wherein he has traſmitted to us his ſentiments, and the maxims of his policy.

He appeared there a ſecond time, and was turned into ridicule.

Once, when he returned to Paris, becauſe the king ſtood in need of his advice, the courtiers ridiculing his dreſs and carriage, he ſaid to Louis XIII.—*When the king, your father, did me the honour to conſult me, he firſt diſmiſſed all the buffoons and fops of the court.* Muſt the glory and proſperity of a great kingdom depend upon two incomparable heads!

Rebellion of the prince of Condé.

Troubles, civil wars, diſorders and misfortunes, rapidly trod on the heels of each other. The whole ſtate was filled with cabals. Condé, with ſome other princes of the blood, and a number of the chief nobility, roſe in rebellion. As there was no force ſufficient to reduce them, all their demands were granted by the treaty of Sainte Menehould.

A meeting of the ſtates general in 1614.

In 1614, the ſtates general were aſſembled, in compliance with the leaders of the faction; but the meeting produced only diſputes.

The clergy and the court oppoſe a good law.

The clergy, ſtill tinctured with Italian prejudices, ardently ſolicited the publication of the council of Trent; and rejected, as a raſh attempt, the propoſal made by the third eſtate, to enact a law declaring—*That no temporal nor ſpiritual power*

power has a right to diſpoſe of the kingdom, and to abſolve the ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. An arret of parliament, which ranks the independence of the crown among the fundamental laws, was afterwards annulled, as if the court of Rome had preſided in the king's council.

Remonſtrances of the parliament ill received.

In 1615, the parliament making remonſtrances on the diſſipation of the treaſure left by Henry IV. only two millions of which were remaining, on the ruinous and uſeleſs expenſes by which the ſtate was weakened, and other abuſes which were multiplying every day, an arret of council was iſſued in reply, declaring, that the parliament had no right to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate. Afterwards, on the repreſentations of the attorney general, Louis gave only this brief reply—*It is my pleaſure, and likewiſe the queen's.* The king might have governed alone, being of age, the former year; but, though he was jealous of power, we ſhall find him perpetually ſurrendering it into other hands.

New rebellion of Condé.

The embarraſſment of the court was increaſed by a new rebellion of the prince of Condé, ſupported by the Calviniſts. This prince, after publiſhing a manifeſto in the moſt violent terms, ſuffered himſelf to be duped, laid down his arms, returned to court, and was arreſted in the middle of the Louvre in 1616. The mareſchal d'Ancre, or rather his wife, then made a total change in the miniſtry, and promoted Richelieu, biſhop of Lucon, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, who was one day to govern in the name of Louis XIII. Rewards were laviſhed upon men entirely undeſerving; by which the malecontents were only emboldened, and the civil war was kindled for the fourth time. So enormous were the riches of Concini, who was at firſt very poor, that he offered to raiſe an army of ſeven thouſand men at his own expenſe.

He is deceived and arreſted.

1617. Luines in favour, a rival of Concini.

The favourite, though equally deteſted and deſpiſed by the great men, ſupported himſelf againſt all their efforts; but he met with a more dangerous enemy in young

young Luines, whoſe fortune was almoſt equally amazing with his own. This man had riſen to favour by his ſkill in training birds for the amuſement of the monarch; and Louis being one of thoſe weak minds, that ſuffer themſelves to be governed by people who have the art of pleaſing them, Luines found means to inſpire him with a jealouſy for his authority; perſuaded him to ſhake off the yoke of a domineering mother, and to rid himſelf of a foreigner who governed that princeſs, and conſequently was maſter of the kingdom. Orders were therefore given to arreſt the mareſchal d'Ancre; and Vitri, captain of the guards, who was entruſted with that commiſſion, executed it conformably to the views of Luines; that is, Concini was ſlain, under pretence of attempting to reſiſt. This ſervice procured Vitri a mareſchal's ſtaff. Themines had obtained the ſame reward for arreſting the prince of Condé. How wretched muſt have been the government, when ſuch actions led to the greateſt military honours!

He cauſes him to be killed.

The trial of Galagai, the Florentine's wife, was at once the height of abſurdity and injuſtice. She was principally accuſed of ſorcery and magic. The judge who interrogated her having demanded what charm ſhe uſed to faſcinate the queen mother, ſhe replied—*The aſcendant which a ſuperiour genius always has over a weak mind.* The parliament declared her guilty of treaſon againſt God and man, and cauſed her to be beheaded, after which her body was thrown into the fire.

The wife of mareſchal d'Ancre executed as a ſorcereſs.

Catharine Medici had brought from Florence the fooliſh practice of aſtrology, which was ſo firmly believed, that James de Thou, though an admirable hiſtorian, ſeems in this point tainted with the general credulity; and Henry IV. cauſed his ſon's horoſcope to be drawn. The court of Mary Medici was filled with aſtrologers; and, doubtleſs, the accuſation I have juſt mentioned took its riſe from the encouragement given to ſuch Italian impoſtors.

Cauſe of the credit given to magic and aſtrology.

Whatever

Over-grown fortune of Luines.

Whatever indignation had been raiſed by the credit and riches of the two Florentines, Luines, who was born in the territory of Avignon, and in ſome meaſure a a foreigner as well as they, did not dread to ſurpaſs their ambition. He enriched himſelf with their ſpoils; and in a ſhort time roſe from the rank of a private gentleman to the dignities of duke and peer, mareſchal, conſtable, and keeper of the ſeals. He wanted nothing but merit; but this was abundantly ſupplied by intrigue, in the eyes of a prince who was a ſlave to his favourites till diſguſt made him change the object of his affection.

1619. War and accommodation with the queen mother.

Meantime the queen mother lived in exile at Blois, where ſhe entered into a plot with the duke d'Epernon, and made her eſcape, with a deſign to begin a civil war; but matters were accommodated with her and with the duke, by making them ſeveral advantageous conceſſions. A new quarrel broke out, and was followed by a new accommodation, which Mary Medici's chief counſellor, the biſhop of Lucon, who had been in diſgrace ſince the death of Concini, managed with ſkill, and by that means again opened for himſelf a way to preferment. That vaſt genius artfully concealed his paſſion for power.

The Huguenots diſquieted and attempt to eſtabliſh a republic.

Theſe numerous petty inſurrections, which, though ill concerted, yet ended diſgracefully to the ſovereign, were followed by one ſo much the more violent, as religious motives gave a keener edge to their ſwords. From the beginning of this reign, provocations had been given to the Huguenots, who could ſcarcely be kept within bounds by the prudence of Henry IV. In 1617 Louis had offended them in the higheſt degree, by an arret of council, ordering the reſtitution of the church lands in the diſtrict of Bearn, which they had enjoyed above ſixty years. Upon this their cabals were revived; and, in a meeting at Rochelle, they reſolved to erect a republic on the model of the Dutch.

Siege of Montauban.

The conſtable Luines, equally preſumptuous and ignorant, imagining that he could cruſh this formidable party,

party, undertook the war, and Louis in perſon ſate down before Montauban; but had the mortification of being obliged to raiſe the ſiege in 1621. Two great captains, the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubiſe, were at the head of the Calviniſts; and nothing could detach them from a cauſe which they thought themſelves bound in duty to defend. Luines died after this diſgraceful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Leſdiguieres abjured Calviniſm, to gain the conſtable's ſword. Death of Luines.

The war was continued with eagerneſs next year, and the king ſet an example of bravery; a quality very different from true fortitude, as it can be found in a feeble ſoul. Perhaps he would again have miſcarried before Montpellier, which was defended with the ſame vigour as Montauban; but he prevented that affront by concluding a peace. Beſides the confirmation of the edict of Nantz, which had been already confirmed more than once, the chiefs of the rebels obtained all the favours which they deſired. It was in a manner become cuſtomary to reward rebellion better than ſervices. Sequel of the war. The rebels rewarded.

CHAP. VII.

Troubles of Arminianiſm in Holland.—Reign of James I. King of England.—Ferdinand II. oppreſſes the Elector Palatine, and threatens the Liberty of Germany.

RELIGIOUS diſſenſions at this time revived with all their atrocity, mingled with the great affairs of politics, produced bloody cataſtrophes, ſhook thrones and nations, and brought unhappineſs on mankind, and reproach on human nature. Even Holland fell a prey to this unaccountable frenzy, which has diſturbed the Chriſtian world for the laſt thirteen centu- Religious diſſenſions more violent than ever.

Arminius and Gomar in Holland.

ries. In 1603, two theologians, profeſſors at Leyden, Arminius and Gomar, had lighted up the torch of diſcord on the ſubject of predeſtination and grace; a myſtery which has always been rendered more incomprehenſible by the ſyſtems of the doctors. Arminius wanted at leaſt to ſoften the odious principles of Calvin; he refuſed to admit, that not only the ſalvation of the elect, but the eternal puniſhment of the reprobate, were a neceſſary conſequence of the abſolute decrees of the Almighty; but defended the goodneſs of God, and the liberty of man, as far as the principles of his ſect would permit. Gomar, a rigid and mercileſs Calviniſt, not having reaſon on his ſide, ſubſtituted for it that perſecuting enthuſiaſm which attracts the multitude. The Arminians only required a toleration, which they obtained from the ſtates general in 1614. Yet the theologiſts continued their diſputes, and the two parties at laſt were ſo inflamed as to have recourſe to violence.

Maurice, prince of Orange, takes advantage of the diſpute to ruin Barnevelt.

The Gomariſts were animated by Maurice, prince of Orange, who took advantage of thoſe diſturbances to oppreſs his country after having been its defender. The advocate general Barnevelt, to whom he was indebted for the command, a man illuſtrious for his conſummate virtue, and the ſervices of every kind which he had done the ſtate, protected the Arminians, while he watched over the public liberty. His ruin was determined. The doctrine of Arminius was condemned in the ſynod of Dort in 1619; Barnevelt loſt his life on a ſcaffold in his old age; and his adherent, Grotius, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, from whence he was delivered only by the ingenious tenderneſs of his wife. This perſecution appears a monſter in a commonwealth, which owed its liberty to the hatred inſpired by the perſecuting ſpirit of the Spaniards. Every thing bears a tincture of human extravagance.

Extraordinary perſecution.

The Dutch miſs no opportunity of

The Dutch, amidſt their theological quarrels, at leaſt never loſt ſight of their commercial intereſt. Their India company enlarged its ſettlements, and built Bata-

via

via in the isle of Java, which became the Amsterdam of Asia.

aggrandizing themselves.

We shall soon see a war, of thirty years duration, kindled in Germany from religious motives, set fire to the rest of Europe, and undermine the foundations of the Austrian power; but, that we may avoid confusion, let us first take a general view of the reign of James I. in England; a prince who ought to have interested himself much more deeply than he did in such an important affair.

Character of James I. king of England.

James the first was learned with pedantry, a theologist with bigotry, and pacific from weakness of character; like the kings of France and Spain, a slave to favourites unworthy of his countenance, yet extremely jealous of absolute authority, which he looked upon as a right inherent in the crown. Being an infant when his mother Mary Stuart was dethroned, he had been educated in the Protestant religion; and some of the English Catholics enraged at not finding in him the indulgence with which they had flattered themselves, in 1605, the third year after his accession, they formed the horrid gun powder plot, which I have briefly mentioned elsewhere.

Gun powder plot.

Thirty six barrels of gun powder were concealed under the parliament house, to bury in one grave the king, the royal family, the peers of the realm, and the commons. Lord Mounteagle, having luckily received a billet, warning him to absent himself from the meeting, because they would receive a *terrible blow*, communicated this information, and James unriddled the secret. The greatest part of the conspirators perished with their arms in their hands. Two Jesuits, Garnet and Oldecorne, were accused of having encouraged them to the commission of the crime at confession. This would be but one example more of the crimes with which false zeal, and false systems of morality, at that time stained the holy ministry.

Vain attempts to reſtore epiſcopacy in Scotland.

In vain did James diſplay his theology, and exert his power, to eſtabliſh epiſcopacy among the *Preſbyterians* of Scotland, who thought that they had brought back the apoſtolic times, by refuſing to acknowledge any other heads than the *elders* of their ſect. He juſtly looked upon biſhops as the ſupports of the royal authority, and openly ſaid—*No biſhop, no king*. But theſe fanatics, breathing the love of independence, drew from thence a new motive to reſiſt him; he never could convince nor reduce them. The Engliſh Puritans, animated by the ſame ſpirit, in the ſucceeding reign deſtroyed the crown.

James endangers the royal authority, by endeavouring to enlarge it.

The imprudent conduct of James paved the way for that fatal revolution. By perpetually inſiſting upon the maxims of arbitrary power, which the Tudors had followed without oppoſition, he gave birth to republican ideas. The people reaſoned on authority, diſcuſſed its principles, inveſtigated its ſource, went back to the times when it was confined within very narrow limits; drew from hiſtory and ancient literature, ſentiments of liberty, which conjunctures would neceſſarily diſcloſe; and thought they had a right to ſtruggle againſt prerogative. The parliament of 1610 made bold attempts in this way, and was diſſolved with indignation.

He emboldened the parliament by his want of economy.

James ought to have followed the example of Elizabeth, and by economy have freed himſelf from the neceſſity of parliamentary ſupplies; but he was in want of money, and prodigal. After having raiſed two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling by the ſale of titles of baronet, he found himſelf obliged to call another parliament in 1614; when, finding the commons more eager to conteſt his rights, he haſtened their diſſolution, though by that means he loſt the ſubſidy.

Somerſet and Buckingham.

Robert Carr, earl of Somerſet, his minion and miniſter, was at that time ſupplanted by another favourite. Young Villars played the ſame part in England that Luines did in France. He was at once created duke of Buckingham, maſter of the horſe, and high admiral. Riches were ſhowered upon his family, as well as on his own

own head. The king, in order to raiſe money, reſtored to the Dutch, Brille, Fleſſing, and Rammekins, three important places, which had been put into the hands of Elizabeth, as pledges for the money ſhe had lent to the republic. Theſe ſums amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, of which he required only about a third. The three places were a great expenſe, and of no eſſential advantage. Yet the people were fired with no leſs indignation at the conduct of James, which appeared to reflect diſhonour on the nation; and, in ſuch delicate conjunctures, regard ought to be paid to the public opinion.

Places reſtored to the Dutch.

Such was the government of a prince, more powerful, and yet much more weak, than Elizabeth; when thoſe bloody ſcenes opened in Germany, by which all Europe was ſhaken.

The Proteſtants of the empire, as we have already ſaid, had entered into a new league for the maintenance of their liberties; they remonſtrated againſt the proceeding of the Aulic council, and required that the two religions ſhould, in every reſpect, be upon an equal footing. Some reaſons of complaint had been given them, and they thought themſelves more aggrieved than they really were. Mathias fomented theſe troubles, and made uſe of them to ſeize the dominions of his brother Rodolphus II. whoſe indolence, and fondneſs for trifles, increaſed every day. In 1608, he forced the emperour to yield up Hungary and Auſtria. In 1611, the year after the famous *evangelic* union of Hall, he likewiſe deprived him of Bohemia by force of arms, and left him only the vain title of emperour. Rodolphus complained in an electoral diet, but was told in plain terms, that he ought to blame himſelf for the contempt which expoſed him to ſo many misfortunes. After this, tortured with vexation and ſuſpicion, diſtruſting his neareſt friends, and implicitly giving himſelf up to the counſels of the famous aſtronomer, Ticho Brahé, who adopted the chimeras

The Proteſtants of Germany in motion.

Rodolphus II. ſpoiled by his brother Mathias.

Death of the emperour.

meras of aſtrology, he made himſelf inacceſſible, and in a manner inviſible, till death relieved him from his ſorrows in 1612.

Inſurrection of the Bohemians under Mathias.

After an interregnum of ſome months (for there was no king of the Romans) Mathias was elected emperour; under whoſe reign the quarrels broke out. Though the Proteſtants of Bohemia had been granted the public exerciſe of their religion, the clergy cauſed ſome of their churches to be demoliſhed in 1618; upon which they immediately roſe in rebellion, with all the fury of the ancient Huſſites; broke into the citadel of Prague, entered the council chamber, threw the ſecretary and two counſellors of ſtate out of the window, ſeized upon the government, drove out the Jeſuits and royaliſts, raiſed an army againſt *the enemies of God, religion, and the edicts of the emperour*, and aſſerted, by a manifeſto, that they had only acted agreeably to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom.

The miſchief increaſes & ſpreads.

Mathias was deſirous of employing gentle methods; but entirely different maxims, thoſe of the Spaniſh court, were purſued by his couſin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, whom he had adopted in prejudice of his own brothers, and who was already appointed king of Bohemia and Hungary. All hope of peace vaniſhed; the ſtates of Sileſia, Moravia, and even thoſe of Upper Auſtria, declared in favour of the Bohemians. The Dutch and the union of Hall promiſed them ſuccours; and the celebrated count Mansfeld, a natural ſon of the governour of Flanders, who had already ſerved againſt the houſe of Auſtria, actually joined them with the troops of the union. Every thing prognoſticated a bloody war; but Mathias died of vexation in 1619, before the great ſtrokes were ſtruck.

1619. Ferdinand II. ſucceeds his couſin Mathias.

Had the French miniſtry been endowed with abilities and vigour, the houſe of Auſtria would have loſt the imperial dignity. The elector Palatine propoſed his couſin, the duke of Bavaria, in the diet; and that election was facilitated by the conjunctures. But the conſtable

ſtable Luines, at that time all powerful at the court of Louis XIII. acted in concert with the Spaniards, and ſupported the archduke Ferdinand, who was elected; a prince too much attached to the principles of arbitrary power, though in other reſpects endowed with ſuperiour qualifications, and capable of increaſing the Auſtrian power in Germany. Meantime the count de la Tour, chief of the rebels, ſpread terrour even into Auſtria; and, had he been more diligent, might have ſeized Vienna.

The Bohemians depoſe him.

The Bohemians, not contented with refuſing to acknowledge Ferdinand II. emperour, ſolemnly depoſed him at Prague, under pretence that he had violated their privileges, and that he had entered into a confederacy with Spain to deſtroy the right of election, and make the crown hereditary in his family. They offered this crown to the elector Palatine Frederic V. head of the Proteſtant league, and ſon in law of the king of England; which he imprudently accepted, being drawn to the precipice by the advice of his wife and his flatterers. His father in law, James I. and his uncle, the prince of Orange, in vain remonſtrated to him againſt this raſh attempt. Spain ſent twenty thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the Catholic league; but James remained quiet, notwithſtanding the ardour ſhewed by the Engliſh for a cauſe which affected their religion and the honour of the crown.

The elector Palatine imprudently accepts this crown.

He loſes the battle of Prague.

Frederic loſt the battle of Prague in 1620, and was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. Being a bigoted and intolerant Calviniſt, he had made himſelf equally odious to the Lutherans and Catholics; which was not the leaſt cauſe of his misfortunes; for we ſee that religion, ill underſtood, always was the ſoul of party.

1621. Ferdinand invades the Palatinate, and carries all before him.

Till then, Ferdinand had ſhewn moderation in ſupporting his juſt rights; but victory converted him into a deſpot. Without conſulting the electors, and in contradiction to the capitulation he had ſworn to obſerve at his acceſſion, for a diſpute merely perſonal, he put

Frederic

Frederic and his adherents under the ban of the empire, made himſelf maſter of the Palatinate, and ordered cruel executions. The Proteſtant union, unable any longer to reſiſt, entered into a treaty with the Spaniards, and was diſſolved. The emperour was doubtleſs little acquainted with the value of literature, as he gave, or ſuffered the duke of Bavaria to give, to pope Gregory XV. the elector's noble library at Heidelberg, which the Germans regret even to this day.

Faults committed by James I.

The king of England had aſſembled a parliament, not with any intention of making war, but in order to obtain ſubſidies, as if it had been reſolved upon. It is true, he obtained them; but, notwithſtanding, ſaw his prerogative more violently attacked than ever. His chancellor, Francis Bacon, ſo celebrated in the literary world, having been guilty of ſeveral miſdemeanours, was impeached by the commons, impriſoned, and fined forty thouſand pounds. The parliament turned an inquiſitive eye on the rights of the crown and the affairs of ſtate; and James having forbidden them to intermeddle in ſuch matters, the houſe of commons replied, that it was their *birthright* to give advice on the affairs of government. But he maintained, that the privileges of the houſe were grants from the ſovereign, not birthrights; and the commons entering a proteſt, he ſent for the journals, tore out the proteſt, diſſolved the parliament, impriſoned ſome of the members, and forbid all diſcourſe upon public affairs; not being ſenſible that this was the way to make people ſpeak with more freedom. From this celebrated parliament roſe the *court* and *country* parties, afterwards called *tories* and *whigs*.

The boldneſs of the commons increaſes.

1623. The Palatinate given to the duke of Bavaria.

The unhappy Frederic receiving no aſſiſtance from his father in law, (who only negotiated, and ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the Spaniſh court) and being equally neglected by his uncle, the prince of Orange, fell a ſacrifice to the deſpotiſm and revenge of the emperour. In a diet held at Ratiſbon, to which none were ſummoned but the electors and a few princes devoted

voted to the imperial court, Ferdinand, by a plurality of voices, conferred the Palatinate on the duke of Bavaria, and even attempted to oblige all the ſtates of the empire to open the gates of their fortreſſes, when he or his troops appeared before them. But the diet rejected this odious propoſal, which diſcovered the emperour's intentions, and the dangers that threatened Germany.

Count Tilli makes Germany tremble.

The arms of count Tilli, a Fleming, general of the Catholic league, bore down all oppoſition. He gained ſeveral victories over the Proteſtants, who were divided among themſelves; and theſe were ſo many triumphs for the imperial court. Had not a man of Richelieu's genius been at laſt ſet at the head of affairs in France, it was to be dreaded that the houſe of Auſtria would execute the ſchemes formerly projected by Charles V. Before we proceed to the epocha of his miniſtry, we ſhall give a ſhort account of the moſt intereſting events in the Spaniſh hiſtory.

CHAP. VIII.

Conſpiracy of Venice.—Obſervations on Spain.

Philip III. and the duke of Lerma.

A WEAK, indolent monarch, governed by his favourites; a miniſter equally incapable, and equally governed;—ſuch were Philip III. king of Spain, and the duke of Lerma. In 1618, the duke was complimented with a cardinal's hat; yet he was exiled by his maſter in the ſame year.

Spaniſh conſpiracy againſt Venice.

Though the government was void of ſpirit and prudence, ambition was not extinguiſhed. The duke of Oſſuna, viceroy of Naples, Peter of Toledo, governour of the Milaneſe, and the marquis of Bedmar, ambaſſadour at Venice, formed a ſcheme for ſubjecting the Venetians, and with them the reſt of Italy. Without being

being formally authorized by the court, they ſet on foot a famous conſpiracy to bring Venice under their dominion. The troops of Milan on one ſide, on the other a number of barks ſent from the kingdom of Naples, were to act at the ſame time; and the city was to be ſet on fire by a troop of conſpirators, which would render it incapable of reſiſting ſo many unforeſeen attacks. This extraordinary plot was diſcovered by the vigilance of the ſenate, in 1618; when the greateſt part of the conſpirators were privately drowned. The marquis of Bedmar, who had violated the law of nations in the moſt flagrant manner, having eſcaped by flight, was ſent into Flanders, where he became prime miniſter to the archdukes, and ſoon after cardinal. Toledo was recalled from the Milaneſe; but Oſſuna remained viceroy of Naples. He had done great ſervice againſt the Turks, who continually infeſted Sicily, whence, in the ſpace of thirty years, they had carried off more than three hundred thouſand ſlaves. This ſcourge abſorbed all the revenues of a ſtate formerly flouriſhing.

Nobility offered to huſbandmen.

Spain, which was ſtill more diſpeopled by the deſtructive cauſes already mentioned, was in ſuch want of labourers, that, in 1620, an edict was publiſhed by Philip III. granting certain honours of nobility, and exemption from military ſervice, to thoſe who applied to agriculture. But the Spaniards choſe rather to languiſh in idleneſs and poverty. A good government would have found other methods for reviving the moſt important of all arts. As it was deſpiſed by the nobility, could it be ſuppoſed that men would be excited to cultivate it by granting them privileges of nobility; eſpecially in Spain, where prejudices ſeemed at that time invincible?

Death of Philip III.

It is ſaid that Philip himſelf fell a victim to the abſurd tyranny of cuſtom. Immediately after his recovery from an illneſs, when attending ſome buſineſs in the council chamber, the vapour of a large ſtove affected his head; and, though he complained of it, yet the perſon who

who, by the ceremonial,* was to take care of the fire, being out of the way, nobody dared to remove the ſtove; by which delay the king grew worſe, and died (1621.)

He had enjoined his ſon, Philip IV. who was only ſixteen years of age, to make no change in the miniſtry. Yet he was no ſooner dead, than a total alteration enſued. Guſman, count, and afterwards duke, of Olivarez, became maſter of the kingdom; who, though young, and a favourite, was at leaſt eminent for his political talents.

Philip IV. governed by Olivarez.

I ſhall only take notice here of an ordinance publiſhed in 1624, by which we ſee that he endeavoured to find a remedy for evils that were almoſt incurable. By this law, two thirds of the officers of juſtice and of the revenue were ſuppreſſed. Population was favoured, by exempting men newly married from public offices for four years; and all who had ſix male children, from taxes during life. Marriage without the conſent of parents was likewiſe permitted; a meaſure more dangerous than uſeful. The inhabitants of the provinces were forbidden to come to Madrid or Seville, without important buſineſs, under pain of a conſiderable fine; and, for a ſtill ſtronger reaſon, all perſons were prohibited from quitting the kingdom with their property and families, without the king's permiſſion. Foreign artificers and labourers ſettling in Spain were promiſed an exemption from all taxes and contributions. Even the king's children were forbidden to keep more than eighteen domeſtics. Gold and ſilver ornaments were allowed only for divine ſervice; and ſilk cloaks, which vanity had made common among the poor as well as the rich, were likewiſe forbidden.

Ordinance to remedy the evils of Spain.

It

* I know not upon what authority M. Déformeaux relates this fact, which to us appears ſo extraordinary. But as this writer, who is a member of the royal academy of belles lettres, does not adopt many of the tales relating to the Spaniſh ceremonial, his teſtimony here has doubtleſs ſome foundation.

It is of importance to reflect on the decay of that kingdom.

It is very ſurpriſing to ſee a great monarchy, which poſſeſſed the gold of the new world, reduced to the neceſſity of making ſumptuary laws. Without examining the advantage or inconvenience of theſe laws, let us take a ſhort view of the internal cauſes of the decay which muſt neceſſarily waſte Spain, till a vigorous legiſlation, rouſed by the exceſs of the evil, totally extirpate its roots. The work of don Bernardo de Ulloa, on the re-eſtabliſhment of the manufactures and commerce of Spain, and that of don Huſtaris on the ſame ſubject, furniſh excellent ideas, to which ſomething may be added by a Frenchman. I confine myſelf only to a few reflections, which are applicable to every defective government.

Obſtacles to population, particularly from the inquiſition.

1. The moſt eſſential point unqueſtionably was, to repeople Spain, and revive agriculture; but how was it poſſible to draw inhabitants to that country, if the inquiſition there exerciſed its tyrannical power?—if diſtruſt and terrour were ſpread through the whole body of the ſociety?—if a man's having a thought of his own was ſufficient to expoſe him to impriſonment, torture, and death?—if the moſt induſtrious, though they were at the ſame time the moſt peaceable, could not enjoy the rights of citizens, unleſs they ſcrupulouſly regulated their words and actions at the pleaſure of the inquiſitors? The Spaniards were in a manner cruſhed under the yoke; and could it be ſupportable to ſtrangers? I make not the leaſt mention of the fatal conſequences produced by enſlaving reaſon, though it commonly plunges the intellectual faculties into a kind of lethargy, which at once annihilates ſciences and arts.

Obſtacles to agriculture & inland trade.

2. Agriculture can never flouriſh, unleſs with the help of inland trade. Labour muſt be encouraged; it muſt be poſſible to procure the neceſſaries, and even the conveniences of life, in exchange for the ſurplus of the productions of the earth. But a thouſand obſtacles ſtood in the way of inland trade. There were no canals, no high roads, or they were in a bad condition,

and

and had no places of refreſhment; the inns were unprovided with every thing, and very expenſive; heavy cuſtoms levied almoſt at every ſtep; the ſame duties from province to province that would be exacted were they ſo many petty kingdoms; and even money abſurdly prohibited from being carried out of them. How was it poſſible to ſet in motion the arm of the huſbandman, when thus tied down? What benefit could he reap from raiſing a ſuperfluity, which he could not diſpoſe of? Some would have ſeen their corn rot, without being able to purchaſe wine; and others, who had cellars full of wine, would not have known how to furniſh themſelves with corn. Thus do unreaſonable laws and cuſtoms, thus does the blindneſs or rigour of ſovereigns, ruin the fineſt countries in the world.

Agriculture muſt decay without inland trade.

3. Wherever raw materials proper to be manufactured are found, there exiſts an intimate connexion, or reciprocal influence, between manufactures and agriculture. Plenty of the means of ſubſiſtence increaſes the number of artificers; and that number increaſing the conſumption, animates and extends cultivation. All things mutually aid each other; all acquire new life, and increaſe the public good. But if the lands be abandoned, the workſhops are deſerted; and if manufactures decay, labour ſlackens in the fields. This neceſſarily happened when the Spaniards neglected real riches for imaginary wealth; when they flocked in crowds to the mines of America; and when at laſt ſuperſtition baniſhed thoſe of the remaining inhabitants, whoſe induſtry rendered them the moſt neceſſary. From that time, they could neither manufacture the ſilks of Valencia, nor the wools of Andaluſia and Caſtile; they looked with contempt upon trades and on the plough; they thought gold and ſilver ſtood in ſtead of every thing elſe; and their idleneſs was increaſed to ſuch a height by their pride, that, even in a ſtate of indigence, the generality were aſhamed to work for their bread. A people aſhamed of labour muſt certainly be unhappy.

The decay of agriculture neceſſarily brings on that of trade.

Contempt of the Spaniards for the plough, for arts & trades.

4. Hence

Conſequently their riches fell into the hands of foreigners.

4. Hence it followed, that their riches were not for themſelves, but for foreigners, who fed, clothed them, &c. In the kingdom, all kinds of proviſion and manufactures roſe to an exceſſive price, either becauſe it was not kept down by a number of ſellers, or from the obſtacles thrown in the way of trade, or the enormous taxes laid upon the labour of artificers and articles of food. Foreign merchandiſes therefore were ſought after. Thus was a ſtate, which ought to have been enriched by its native productions, continually impoveriſhed, to the advantage of thoſe whom their neceſſities might have made its tributaries. Its gold flowed inceſſantly out of the country, and ſpread in thoſe where agriculture and induſtry prevailed.

Pomp of the court, opulence of the church, territories too remote and ill governed. Deſpotiſm and ignorance.

5. Let us add to theſe cauſes the ruinous pomp of the court and the grandees; the number and opulence of the churches, convents, and receptacles of celibacy, where the ſole buſineſs is prayer; the immenſe extent of the monarchy, the parts of which being too remote, and all badly governed, weakened the body which they ſeemed to render ſo formidable; the evils of deſpotiſm, which had cruſhed a people once free, and thus ruined their activity, and enervated their virtue; the ſuperſtitious ignorance, which on one ſide conſecrated and multiplied abuſes, and on the other turned all the efforts of genius to the futilities of the ſchools, or the amuſements of the theatre; Mariana and two or three others only making a ſlight exception.

What we have now ſaid is more than ſufficient to explain how the Spaniards, with ſo many rich conqueſts, a ſoil ſo fruitful, and a ſituation ſo advantageous, with a great fund of courage, genius, and virtue, were reduced to ſuch a deplorable ſtate, from which they will not recover but with difficulty. We ſhall ſee them one day governed by ſovereigns of the Bourbon family, under whom their vigour and genius were deſtined to revive.

Holland prevails over Spain.

To conclude: Holland, which before it ſhook off the yoke was nothing, and which had been acknowledged a free

free ſtate only at the truce in 1609, triumphed over the Spaniſh fleets; and Philip IV. coined baſe money to pay his debts. Let it now be judged which was preferable, the poſſeſſion of America, or the cultivation of Spain; the oppreſſion of the ſubjects, or the promotion of their happineſs; the eſtabliſhment of ſumptuary laws, or a reformation of the faults in the government.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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